OBSERVATIONS

ON VARIOUS

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE,

PLACING THEM IN A NEW LIGHT;

AND

ASCERTAINING

THE MEANING OF SEVERAL, NOT DETERMINABLE BY THE METHODS COMMONLY MADE USE OF BY THE LEARNED;

ORIGINALLY COMPILED

BY THE

Rev. THOMAS HARMER,

FROM

RELATIONS INCIDENTALLY MENTIONED IN BOOKS OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS INTO THE EAST.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

FIRST AMERICAN, FROM THE FOURTH

LONDON EDITION.

WITH A NEW ARRANGEMENT, MANY IMPORTANT ADDITIONS, AND INNUMERABLE CORRECTIONS,

By ADAM CLARKE, LL.D.

Impellimur autem Natura, ut prodesse velimus quamplurimis imprimisque docendo,
Itaque non facile est invenire qui, quod sciat ipse, non tradat alteri.
Cic. de Fin. lib. iii.

CHARLESTOWN:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY S. ETHERIDGE, JR.

1817.

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OBSERVATIONS

ON

DIVERS PASSAGES OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

CHAP. VII.

DIFFERENT METHODS OF DOING HONOR TO THE DEAD.

OBSERVATION I.

MUSIC JOINED WITH MOURNING IN THE EAST.

Biddulph, the chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was greatly surprised at observing, that the women in the Holy Land used instruments of music in their lamentations, and that, before the melancholy event happened to which their wailing referred.* He would have been equally surprised, I imagine, if he had met the companions of the daughter of Jephthah, while she wandered up and down the mountains bewailing her virginity.

"While I was at Saphetta,"† says this traveller, "many Turks departed from thence toward Mecca in Arabia. And the same morning they went, we saw many women playing with timbrels as they went along the streets, who made a yelling, or shrieking noise as if they cried. We asked what they meant in so doing? It was answered us, that they mourned for the departure of their husbands, who were gone that morning on pilgrimage to Mecca, and they feared that they should never see them

* Collection of Voyages and Travels from the Earl of Oxford's library, vol. i. page 814.

† Saphet in Galilee.

again, because it was a long way, and dangerous, and many died there every year. It seemed strange to us, that they should mourn with music about the streets, for music is used in other places at times of mirth, and not at times of mourning."*

The circumstances were considerably alike, though not exactly similar. The female relations and friends, in both cases, lamented those that were dear to them, though not at that time dead, yet supposed to be in great danger of death; but the bewailing the daughter of Jephthah must be supposed to have been much the more bitter, as her danger must have been apprehended to have been greater than that of the people of Saphetta, that had to travel through the deserts of Arabia, for many of those pilgrims return. Both arose from religious considerations; but ill-directed in both cases. In each they were lamented in melancholy processions, and with mournful music.†

OBSERVATION II.

DEAD BODIES ORNAMENTED IN THE EAST.

THE ancient Greeks, we are told,‡ used to place their dead near the doors of their houses, and to attend them there with mourning: the same custom still continues among the Greeks; and might, perhaps, obtain among the ancient Jews.

Dr. Richard Chandler observed the continuance of this custom among the people of the first nation, when he was lately travelling in Greece. A woman was sitting, he tells us, at Megara, "with the door of her cottage open, lamenting her dead husband aloud."§ And again he tells

* This gentleman seems to have forgotten the manner in which the daughter of Jairus was lamented, Matt. ix. 23.

† This is said on the supposition that Jephthah's daughter was really sacrificed, of which there is no proof. EDIT.

‡ Potter's Antiq. book 4, chap. 3. § Travels in Greece, page 195.

us, that when at Zante, he saw "a woman in a house, with the door open, bewailing her little son, whose body lay by her, dressed, the hair powdered, the face painted, and bedecked with leafgold."*

The decorating the forehead and the cheeks of a Grecian bride with leafgold, which he mentions p. 135, appears to us odd; the adorning a corpse after this manner may appear more strange: nor do I recollect any allusion to this custom among the Jews in the Old Testament; but as the weeping for Tammuz is described by the Prophet Ezekiel,† as performed near a door of the Temple, perhaps with a view to the custom of mourning near the door among the Syrians, as well as the Greeks: so Abraham's coming to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her, Genesis xxiii. 2, seems to mean his coming from his own tent, and seating himself on the ground near the door of her tent, where her corpse was placed, in order to perform those public solemn rites of mourning which decency as well as affection led him to. A paper in the 5th volume of the Archæologia, relating to patriarchal customs, takes some notice of this circumstance, but without observing that it seems to be an early rite of mourning, which continuing among the Greeks, remains among their descendants to this very time.

When Dorcas, the good woman of Joppa, died, she indeed, after having been washed, was placed, we are told, in an upper room,‡ consequently in a private and retired apartment; but it is to be remembered they did not suppose her irrecoverably gone, since they sent to St. Peter, under the hope that he might, as he afterward actually did, raise her up to life. In such a state, it would not have agreed with their other management, to place her at the door of the house to bewail her death, who, they hoped, by a speedy resurrection, would appear in the land of the living. This placing her then in an upper chamber is no objection to the supposing the people of

* Page 300. † Chap. viii. 14. ‡ Acts ix. 37.

Syria placed their dead, for the bewailing them, near the doors of their houses, as the Grecians did, and now do.

Perhaps the mourning of Israel at the door of each of their tents, in the Wilderness, which so much displeased Moses,* was bewailing their relations, as if actually dead, which they might apprehend would be the sure consequence of their wandering without any support but manna, but it is by no means a decisive proof.

OBSERVATION III.

CUTTING OFF THE HAIR IN HONOR OF THE DEAD.

THE cutting off the hair in mourning for the dead, is an Eastern, as well as a Grecian custom; and appears to have obtained in the East in the prophetic times, as well as in later ages.

That it was practised among the Arabs, in the seventh century, appears by a passage of d'Herbelot. Khaled ben Valid, ben Mogaïrah, who was one of the bravest of the Arabs in the time of Mohammed, and sirnamed by him, after Khaled had embraced the new religion he introduced into the world, the 'Sword of GOD,' died under the khalifat of Omar, in the city of Emessa in Syria, and he adds, that there was not a female of the house of Mogaïrah, who was his grandfather, either matron or maiden, who caused not her hair to be cut off at his burial.†

How the hair that was cut off was disposed of, does not appear in d'Herbelot. Among the ancient Greeks, it was sometimes laid upon the dead body; sometimes cast into the funeral pile; sometimes placed upon the grave.‡ Under this variation of management among the Greeks, it would have been an agreeable additional circumstance to have been told, how the females of the house of Mogaïrah disposed of their hair.

* Numb. xi. 10. † Biblioth. Orient. page 984.

‡ Potter's Antiq. of Greece, book 4, chap. 5.

We are equally ignorant of the manner in which the ancient Jews disposed of theirs, when they cut it off in bewailing the dead. But that they cut it off, upon such occasions, is evident from a passage of the Prophet Jeremiah, ch. xvi. 6. *Both the great and the small shall die in this land: they shall not be buried, neither shall** men *lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them.*

The words do not seem determinately to mean, that those of the male sex only were wont to cut themselves, or make themselves bald for the dead; but that there should be no cutting of the flesh made at all for them, no baldness, leaving it uncertain which sex had been wont to make use of these rites of mourning, who should then omit them. So the interlineary translation of Montanus understands the words.

Both practices seem to have been forbidden by the law of Moses;† the soft and impressible temper of the female sex might, it may be imagined, engage them sooner to deviate from the precept, than the firmer disposition of the other. So here we see they were the *females* of the family of Mogaïrah that cut off their hair at the burial of Khaled: not a word of the men.

And accordingly we find among the modern Mohammedans, the outward expressions at least of mourning are much stronger among the women than the men: the nearest male relations, Dr. Russell tells us,‡ describing their way of carrying a corpse to be buried, immediately follow it, "and the women close the procession with dreadful shrieks, while the men all the way are singing prayers out of the Koran. The women go to the tomb every Mon-

* It should rather have been translated, Neither shall *they* lament for them. The word *men* is not in the original; the verb is in the third person plural, with the masculine termination indeed, but as to what follows, it does not appear which sex it was that cut themselves, or made themselves bald, though both might, in general, lament.

† Deut. xiv. 1. ‡ Descript. of Aleppo, vol. i. page 306, vol. ii. page 56.

day or Thursday, and carry some flowers or green leaves to dress it with. They make a show of grief, often expostulating heavily with the dead person, 'Why he should leave them, when they had done every thing in their power to make life agreeable to him!'* This however, by the men is looked upon as a kind of impiety; and, if overheard, they are chid severely for it: and, I must say, the men generally set them a good example, in this respect, by a patient acquiescence in the loss of their nearest relations, and indeed show a firm and steady fortitude under every kind of misfortune."

OBSERVATION IV.

FUNERAL RITES OF THE JEWS IN BARBARY.

ONE of the rites of mourning for the dead, among the Jews of Barbary, mentioned by Dean Addison in his account of that people, seems to be a very odd one, yet is unquestionably a custom of very ancient date among them: what I mean is the muffling up the jaws, after the same manner as the lower part of the face of a corpse is bound up.

"They return from the grave," says the Dean, "to the house of the deceased, where one, who as chief mourner receives them, with his jaws tied up with a linen cloth, after the same manner that they bind up the dead. And by this the mourner is said to testify that he was ready to die with his friend. And thus muffled the mourner goes for seven days; during which time the rest of his friends come twice every twenty four hours to pray with him."†

* The native Irish mourn over their dead precisely in the same way. In the *Caonian*, or Irish funeral cry, besides a full chorus of sighs and groans, frequent expostulations with the dead for having left his house, possessions, friends, &c. are intermixed. See an example in Observation XI. EDIT.

† Page 218, 219.

As the mourning for seven days was a custom of remote antiquity; so it should seem was this muffling the mouth in their mourning for the dead. Thus Ezekiel, when his wife died, and he was commanded to abstain from the usual forms of mourning, was not to cover his lips: *Forbear to cry, make no mourning for the dead, bind the tire of thine head upon thee, and put on thy shoes upon thy feet, and cover not thy lips, and eat not the bread of men,* Ezek. xxiv. 17 *

The present mode among the Jews of Barbary certainly explains what is meant by *covering the lips,* or *the mouth,* in Ezekiel, whether the interpretation put upon the practice by the Dean, be right or not; its being designed as a testimony, that the party so muffled up was ready to die with his friend.

The same rite was to be made use of by the leper, when pronounced such by the Jewish priest, Lev. xiii. 45. *And the leper in whom the plague is, his clothes shall be rent, and his head bare, and he shall put a covering upon his upper lip, and shall cry, Unclean, unclean.* It is no wonder he was to be muffled up like a corpse, for he was unclean as a corpse, and was considered as a person half dead. So when Aaron interceded for his sister Miriam, who was struck with the leprosy, he said, *Let her not be as one dead; of whom the flesh is half consumed, when he cometh out of his mother's womb.*†

Whether this mode of mourning was dropped in the country where the Septuagint Interpreters of the Old Testament lived, or not, may be uncertain; but they

* See also verse 22, 23.

† Numb. xii. 12. It was extremely natural to express the putrefaction of the body, smitten with the leprosy, rather by the corruption that had taken place in a stillborn child, dead a considerable time; than by that of a corpse kept long unburied, or visited after having laid long in the earth: for the first they must frequently have seen; but as to the two last, they buried immediately, and for fear of defilement, according to their law, would not easily be induced to take up a body that had been buried any time.

have dropped this circumstance of Jewish mourning out of their translation: making the clause signify, not the covering the lips of the mourner, but the mourner's being comforted by the lips of others.

OBSERVATION V.

GOING WITH THE HEAD AND FEET BARE, A MODE OF HONORING THE DEAD.

ADDISON's account of the modern mourning of the Jews of Barbary, mentions another point of resemblance, between their mourning in late times, and that practised in the days of Ezekiel.

In Barbary, "the relations of the deceased, for seven days after the interment, stir not abroad; or if by some extraordinary occasion they are forced to go out of doors, it is without shoes; which is a token with them that they have lost a dear friend."*

The reader will recollect, when the Prophet Ezekiel was commanded to abstain from the rites of mourning, he was ordered to put his shoes on his feet.

It is supposed by Ezekiel, that they went bare headed, as well as with bare feet, in their mourning, but the Dean has said nothing upon that head in his account; I would however take a little notice of it, as it seems that the custom of the country in which the Prophet resided, in the time of the captivity, differed from that of the country where the Seventy Interpreters dwelt. For the prophet, according to our translation, was to bind that tire of his head upon him, which they wore in common, or in times of prosperity and consolation; whereas the Seventy explain the order as signifying he should wear, as usual, the hair of his head pleasingly adjusted, without any other covering of the head. The custom of their country too seems to

* Page 218.

have differed from that of Job's, for he shaved his head, when he mourned the loss of his children,* the consummation, as he might then apprehend, of his afflictions; whereas the Seventy Interpreters supposed in mourning they wore their hair only in a rough entangled state, Ουκ εσται το τριχωμα σε συμπεπλεγμενον επι σε, Ezek. xxiv. 17, that is, *Thy hair shall not be plaited on thee.*

Turbans are now, though with some variety in their forms,† worn very generally in the East. When that mode began it may be difficult precisely to say, but they seem to have been in use as early as the days of Ezekiel, in some of the Eastern countries, and the putting on the *tire of his head*, means, I should suppose, putting on his turban, instead of going bare headed like a mourner.

To sum up the whole of what I have been saying upon this subject, in few words: In the age and country of Job, they seem in common to have worn simply their hair without any other covering on their heads; and when they mourned to have shaved it off. The Greeks did the same. In the age and country in which Ezekiel lived, when he received this order, the head seems to have been always shaved, but covered in times of ease and satisfaction with a turban, or something of that kind; which was taken off in times of mourning, and the head left as bare as that of Job. In the age and country in which the Seventy Interpreters lived, it should seem that the head was not shaved at all, but the hair made in a more ornamental and pleasing manner than common; and left to grow at length, uncombed, and in a very disordered state, in a time of mourning.

* Job i. 20. *Then Job arose, and rent his mantle, and shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground, and worshipped.*

† They all are formed of a cap of different shapes and colours, worn on the crown of the head, surrounded at the edge with a long narrow strip of silk or linen of different colours, and artfully wrapped about in different forms of convolution, according to the different nations, religions, professions, offices, and classes in life, to which the wearers respectively belong.

Answerable to this, if these interpreters lived in Egypt, I have somewhere read, though I cannot now point out the passage, that the skull of a Persian could be distinguished from that of an Egyptian, in a generation or two after the time of the Prophet Ezekiel, by their different thicknesses, or degrees of hardness, arising from one nation's going bare headed, and the other with a thick covering on the head. So thick indeed, that Sir John Chardin informs us, in the French edition of his travels, that a modern Persian turban weighs twelve or sixteen pounds.* The lightest half as much.

This is one circumstance out of many, which shows the great freedom of that translation, which, however, has this advantage attending it, that it gives us an account of some circumstances, relating to the ancient Egyptians, which might else have been lost; and also sometimes determines the meaning of a Hebrew expression, which otherwise would have been very dubious.

The whole of the divine order on this occasion to Ezekiel seems to be this: Thou shalt not cry out with the same vehement noises as are usual among the mourners of thy country;† thou shalt not weep with bitter sobbings; thou shalt not even suffer tears at all to appear. On the contrary, be silent, and assume none of the common forms of mourning: put on thy turban as usual; thy shoes on thy feet; muffle not up the lower part of thy face; and eat not the bread of consolation, wont to be prepared by the humane, and sent to those in deep affliction.

* Tome ii. page 51. He explains in this same page what occasions their being so heavy.

† As was done by the ancient people that saw the foundations of the second temple laid, and recollected the splendor of the first, Ezra iii. 12.

OBSERVATION VI.

THE HEAD SOMETIMES SHAVED IN MOURNING FOR THE DEAD.

Not only common readers, but even the learned themselves appear to be perplexed about the meaning of that prohibition of the law of Moses, contained in the latter part of the first verse of the 14th of Deuteronomy, *Ye shall not cut yourself, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead;* but it seems to be clearly explained by a passage of Sir John Chardin, as to its expressing sorrow, though it is probable the idolatrousness of the practice may, at this distance of time, be irrecoverably lost.

Sir John tells us,* "that black hair is most esteemed among the Persians, as well on the head, as on the eyebrows, and in the beard. That the largest and thickest eyebrows are the most beautiful, especially when they are of such a size as to touch one another. The Arab women have the most beautiful eyebrows of this sort. The Persian women, when they have them not of this colour, tinge them, and rub them with black, to make them the larger. They also make in the lower part of the forehead, a little below the eyebrows, a black spot, in form of a lozenge, not quite so large as the nail of the little finger." This is probably not of a lasting nature, but quickly wears off.

These notions of beauty differ very much from those of the ladies of Europe. None of them, I think, are fond of having their eyebrows meet; but on the contrary take pains to keep the separation between them very distinct.

But if the Eastern people are of a different opinion, it is not at all surprising, that at the same time that they

* Tome ii. page 52, 53.

laid aside the hair of their heads, with their more artificial ornaments, in a time of mourning, they should make a space bald between their eyes too, since it was their pride to have them meet when in a joyful state, and even to join them with a black perishable spot, rather than have interruption appear between the eyebrows.

But as the sacred writers admitted the making their heads bald in mourning, while Moses forbids not only idolatrous cuttings of the flesh, but this making the space bald between the eyebrows, it appears there was something of idolatry in this too, as well as in those cuttings, though it is not easily made out.

After this circumstance, relating to Eastern beauty, is known, the addition to bishop Patrick's account of the heathens being wont to shave the eyebrows, in times of mourning, will, I presume, give no pleasure: "Or," says this worthy writer, "(which some think is the meaning of between the eyes) the hair in the fore part of the head, or near the temples, as R. Solomon interprets it. Which seems to be the meaning of the Hierusalem Targum, which translates it, Ye shall not make any baldness in the house of your countenance."*

OBSERVATION VII.

NOISE AND TUMULT FREQUENT AT THE DEATH OF A PERSON IN THE EAST.

THE assembling together of multitudes to the place where persons have lately expired, and bewailing them in a noisy manner, is a custom still retained in the East, and seems to be considered as an honor done to the deceased.

That this was done anciently, appears from the story of the dying of the daughter of Jairus. St. Mark uses

* Upon the place.

the term Θορυβος, which signifies *tumult*, to express the state of things in the house of Jairus then, ch. v. 38. And accordingly Sir John Chardin's MS. tells us, that now the concourse in places where persons lie dead is incredible. Every body runs thither, the poor and the rich; and the first more especially make a strange noise.

Dr. Shaw takes notice, I remember, of the noise they make in bewailing the dead, as soon as they are departed; but he takes no notice, I think, of the great concourse of people of all sorts on such occasions; which yet is a circumstance very proper to be remarked, in order to enter fully into the sense of the Greek word Θορυβος.

But the most distinct account of the Eastern lamentations that Sir J. Chardin has given us, in the 6th volume of his MSS. by which we learn that their emotions of joy, as well as of sorrow, are expressed by loud cries. The passage is extremely curious, and the purport of it is as follows: Gen. xlv. 2. *And he wept aloud, and the Egyptians and the house of Pharaoh heard.* "This is exactly the genius of the people of Asia, especially of the women. Their sentiments of joy or of grief are properly transports; and their transports are ungoverned, excessive, and truly outrageous. When any one returns from a long journey, or dies, his family burst into cries, that may be heard twenty doors off; and this is renewed at different times, and continues many days, according to the vigour of the passion. Especially are these cries long in the case of death, and frightful, for the mourning is right down despair, and an image of hell. I was lodged in the year 1676, at Ispahan, near the Royal square; the mistress of the next house to mine died at that time. The moment she expired, all the family, to the number of twenty five or thirty people, set up such a furious cry, that I was quite startled, and was above two hours before I could recover myself.* These cries continue a long time, then

* It seems, according to the margin, that it was in the middle of the night, Sir John in bed, and the cry so violent, that he imagined his own servants were actually murdered.

cease all at once; they begin again as suddenly, at day-break, and in concert. It is this suddenness which is so terrifying, together with a greater shrillness and loudness than one could easily imagine. This enraged kind of mourning, if I may call it so, continued forty days; not equally violent, but with diminution from day to day. The longest and most violent acts were when they washed the body, when they perfumed it, when they carried it out to be interred, at making the inventory, and when they divided the effects. You are not to suppose that those that were ready to split their throats with crying out, wept as much; the greatest part of them did not shed a single tear through the whole tragedy."

This is a very distinct description of Eastern mourning for the dead; they cry out too, it seems, on other occasions; no wonder then *the house of Pharaoh heard*, when Joseph wept at making himself known to his brethren.

OBSERVATION VIII.

FUNERAL FEASTS USED IN THE EAST.

THE making a kind of funeral feast was also a method of honoring the dead, used anciently in these countries, and is continued down to these times.

The references of commentators here have been, in common, to the Greek and Roman usages; but as it must be more pleasing to learn Eastern customs of this kind, I will set down what Sir J. Chardin has given us an account of in one of his manuscripts; and the rather, as some particulars are new to me.

"The Oriental Christians still make banquets of this kind, (speaking of the ancient Jewish feasts of mourning, mentioned Jer. xvi. 6, 7, and elsewhere,) by a custom derived from the Jews; and I have been many times present at them, among the Armenians in Persia. The 7th verse speaks of those provisions which are wont to

be sent to the house of the deceased, and of those healths that are drank to the survivors of the family, wishing that the dead may have been the victim for the sins of the family. The same with respect to eating, is practised among the Moors. Where we find the word *comforting* made use of, we are to understand it as signifying the performing these offices." In like manner he explains the *bread of men*, mentioned Ezek. xxiv. 17, as signifying, "the bread of others; the bread sent to mourners; the bread that the neighbours, relations, and friends sent."

OBSERVATION IX.

FREQUENT VISITS PAID TO THE GRAVES OF DEPARTED RELATIVES, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF VARIOUS OTHER MODES OF MOURNING FOR THE DEAD.

The Eastern people not only lamented their dead with solemnity, upon their departure out of this world, when carried to the grave; but they did so in visits paid from time to time to their sepulchres afterward; all which usages continue among them, in one form or other, to this day. They lament also with public solemnity those that were absent from them when they died, and were buried at a distance from the abode of their relations.

Irwin has given us a very amusing account of a mourning of this sort, in a town of Upper Egypt, which happened to be celebrated there while he was detained in it.

One of the inhabitants of this town of Ghinnah, who was a merchant by profession, being murdered in the desert between Ghinnah and Cosire, in a journey he was making to this last mentioned place, he tells us, "The tragedy which was lately acted near Cosire, gave birth to a mournful procession of females, which passed through the different streets of Ghinnah this morning, and uttered

dismal cries for the death of Mohammed.* In the centre was a female of his family, who carried a naked sword in her hand, to imitate the weapon by which the deceased fell. At sundry places the procession stopped, and danced around the sword, to the music of timbrels and tabors. They paused a long time before our house, † and some of the women made threatening signs to one of our servants; which agrees with the caution we received to keep within doors. It would be dangerous enough to face this frantic company; whose constant clamour and extravagant gestures give them all the appearance of the female Bacchanals of Thrace, recorded of old." p. 254.

This, it seems, was on the 25th of August. On the 27th his journal has these words: "I was awakened before daybreak by the same troop of women, which passed our house the other day, in honor to the memory of Mohammed. Their dismal cries suited very well with the lonely hour of the night: and I understand that this relic of the Grecian customs lasts for the space of seven days; during which interval the female relations of the deceased make a tour through the town, morning and night, beating their breasts, throwing ashes on their heads, and displaying every artificial token of sorrow." p. 257, 258.

How Mr. Irwin came to describe this as a relic of Grecian customs, it is not for me to say; but I presume it was not only an unnecessary addition, but an inaccurate appropriating to Greece, what was common to many Eastern countries. Several Greek usages may be supposed to have been introduced into Egypt, after its conquest by Alexander, and the assumption of its government by the Ptolemies; but the Arabs are known to be as little altered by the adoption of foreign usages as any nation whatever, and this Mohammed was an Arab, as

* The name of the merchant that was murdered.

† The writer and his companions had been upon very ill terms with him.

were most of the inhabitants of Ghinnah. It is more natural then to believe it an ancient Arab or Egyptian custom, to mourn after this manner for the dead, whose relations had not the opportunity of testifying their regard to them in their other forms of mourning, that is, their lamenting with cries, or with music, their departure, presently after their death ; their bewailing them with the assistance of mourning women, trained up in this profession, as they attended them to the grave : and solemnly visiting their tombs, from time to time afterwards.

It seems from a passage of Josephus, which the learned have not let pass totally unobserved, that this kind of mourning the absent dead, was a Jewish custom, for he mentions it as practised by them, at a time when they were engaged, with great bitterness, in a war with the heathen nations about them, having refused to suffer the wonted sacrifices to be offered in the temple for the safety of the Roman emperors, as being of a different religion from themselves.

The passage of Josephus is in the third book of the Jewish war : in which he tells us, that, upon the sacking Jotapata, it was reported that he, (who was at that time a great captain among them, as he was afterward celebrated as an author in the world,) was slain, and that these accounts occasioned very great mourning at Jerusalem, which was many miles off, and in another division of the Jewish country, Jotapata being a city of Galilee. In describing this mourning at Jerusalem, for Josephus and the people of Jotapata, he says, "there was mourning in single houses, and in families of kindred, as each of the slain had connexions. Some mourned their guests," (he meant, I presume, those that had been wont to take up their lodgings at the houses of these mourners, when they came up to Jerusalem, at their sacred feast ;) "some their relations ; others their brethren. All Josephus. So that for thirty days there was no cessation of their

lamentations in the city. And many hired *pipers*, αυλητας, who led the way in these wailings."

I should imagine, that the passage I have transcribed from Irwin, relating to the mourning of those Egyptian Arabs, for that merchant that was slain in the desert, furnishes an excellent note on this passage of Josephus, according to whom single families mourned the death of some; bodies of kindred others; and the city in general Josephus, in solemn mournful processions about Jerusalem, making use of songs of lamentation, and sometimes the additional sound of musical instruments of the melancholy kind, such as were wont to be used in the houses of those that had just expired; of which kind of music we read, Matthew ix. 23, where the same word occurs which appears in Josephus, but is there translated minstrel: *When* JESUS *came to the ruler's house, and saw the minstrels*, αυλητας, *and the people making a noise, he said unto them, Give place, for the maid is not dead, but sleepeth.*

Whether the word *minstrels*, which our translators have made use of here, is proper or not, I will not take upon me to determine, but would leave that to the gentlemen of the Antiquarian Society. The minstrels of former times are often described as playing upon harps: while the original word used here certainly signifies people that played on the pipe, and is accordingly translated pipers, Rev. xviii. 22, the only place besides in which the original word occurs in the New Testament.

If our old minstrels were never employed in the funeral solemnities of the times in which they lived, but only on joyous occasions, the impropriety is more striking still.

But be it as it may, to keep to the point I have at present in view, as *mournful music*,* was made use of at

* When I say *mournful music*, I would not be understood to suppose, the sound of the ancient pipe was essentially, or at all times, melancholy. Pipes certainly were made use of on joyous occasions, as well as these

Jerusalem, when they mourned the slaughter at Jotapata, as these Egyptian Arabs did that of Mohammed of Ghinnah; so I think it most natural to suppose, they lamented them in public processions, as these Arabs did: for how else could it have been known, if it had been only a general noise of weeping and groaning that had been heard in Jerusalem, on this occasion, who they were that they mourned for; that some mourned relations, others friends, but all Josephus? It is surely most likely, that the mourners went about the streets, Eccl. xii. 5, declaring by their vehement exclamations whom they lamented. Sometimes only the females of one house forming a mournful procession: sometimes a combination of those of several, united together by relationship; and some-

that were melancholy, as is evident from the use of the kindred verb, Matth. xi. 17, *We have piped unto you and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you and ye have not lamented.* Where we see the contrary uses to which the pipes of antiquity were put: We piped to you such airs as were played to those that dance, but ye would not dance: we have then tried you with those tunes that are used in times of lamentation, but you would not then act the part of mourners. The words of St. Paul, in 1 Cor. xiv. 7, will appear with the greatest energy, if we consider them as signifying, that for want of a due distinction of sounds, those by whom a procession according to the usages of the East should pass, might be at a loss to know whether they should join them with expressions of gratulation, or in words of lamentation. Irwin has given an instance of such a joining in the latter case, p. 245, where speaking of the singing in a funeral procession, that went by his house, he says, "There was an Arabian merchant on a visit to us, when the funeral went by; and though in company with strangers, he was not ashamed to run to the window, and to join audibly in the devotions of the train." If a pipe was designed to regulate the expressions that were to be made use of, if it gives an uncertain sound, and sometimes seemed to announce a triumph or a wedding, and sometimes a procession on account of the dead, how should a bystander know how to behave himself? "Even things without life give sound, whether pipe or harp, except they give a distinction in the sounds, how shall a man know what is piped or harped?" how shall a man know what the music is designed to produce; congratulation, or condolence? This is a much stronger sense, than the supposing, if the sounds were irregular, the Apostle meant, it was impossible to tell what dance was intended. In truth, such an explanation would not well agree with the extemporaneousness of Eastern dances, for the hearer of the music might in that case know what was to be done, and all that would follow from it would be, that if the music was irregular, so would the dance be.

times a troop of the principal ladies of Jerusalem, from all quarters, and unconnected by blood, or alliance, went about the city, lamenting with bitterness the death of Josephus, the Jotapatene leader. Of which various processions many, it should seem, were ennobled or rendered more solemn, by melancholy music. If we are disposed to quit Josephus, and turn to the sacred writings, I would ask, whether it is not natural to suppose, that it was after this manner that the Israelites lamented the death of Moses? He was absent from them when he died ; neither did *they carry him to the grave*, Deut. xxxiv. 1, 5, 6. But they wept for him in the plains of Moab, with some expressions of sorrow, which after thirty days ceased, ver. 8. These were neither the lamentations wont to be made immediately upon the departure of the dead, in the house in which the corpse lay ; nor the mourning of a funeral convoy carrying the body to the grave ; nor the after bemoanings over the sepulchre of the dead : but it seems to mean processional solemnities of mourning through the camp of Israel, if we are to explain matters by the Arab usages of modern Egypt, or the customs of the Jews in the time of Josephus.

It is however to be remarked, that the customs of the Egyptian Arabs and of the Jews differed in one point, that is, the time of mourning : the first, according to Irwin, mourning only *seven* days, but the Jews of the time of Josephus *thirty*, which also obtained in the days of Moses.

The mourning for Aaron, who died not in the camp of Israel, but in mount Hor, Num. xx. 25—29, might be of the same nature.

It is to be remembered that both Moses and Aaron were Egyptians by birth, and Israel were just come out of Egypt ; it is not at all unnatural then to look for a resemblance in their forms of mourning.

This passage too of Josephus may, probably, illustrate Zechariah xii. 11—14 : *In that day there shall be a great*

mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadad Rimmon in the valley of Megiddon. And the land shall mourn, every family apart, the family of the house of David apart, and their wives apart; the family of the house of Nathan apart, and their wives apart, &c. All the families that remain, every family apart, and their wives apart.

Without attending to several questions that might be proposed here, it may be remarked, from Josephus, that in very severe and bitter public mourning, there were only general processions of lamentation, but families apart by themselves mourned; not only their private losses, but bewailed what was of a public nature too, and by these more unusual particular lamentations, when the subject was of a public nature, they testified the vehemence of their sorrow.

In general processions of mourning, decency might engage people very universally to attend; but when particular families formed extraordinary processions by themselves, such processions expressed vehement emotions of grief, which could not be relieved by general mournings, without special, separate, and distinct testimonies of grief.

This observation accounts for families mourning *apart*; whether the men's mourning distinct from the women's is designed to be marked out by the Prophet here; and if it be, whether it is intended to express, with augmentation, the bitterness of the mourning, must depend on the construction of the particle ו *vau* and: "Every family apart, and their wives apart." That particle is hardly to be understood, one would think, to be simply copulative, if we consider, that the women alone, of the family of that Egyptian Arab that Irwin speaks of, went about Ghinnah, in mournful processions, the men not appearing in those several modern solemn lamentations; and that the Old Testament itself speaks of women, as more frequently appearing in the character of mourners in public, than

the men. Its meaning then is, I should apprehend, either explanatory, and equivalent to *namely*, or some such word, and so the passage would signify each family, *that is*, the women of it shall mourn apart; or, as I much rather am inclined to believe, the particle is to be understood as signifying, *as well as*:* the family of the house of David apart, as well as their wives apart, &c.

So it expresses the unusualness of public mourning by the men, compared with the appearing of the women in that character; as the mourning apart also expresses bitterness of grief. And thus an apochryphal writer understood the mourning for Josiah to be by the men as well as the women, 1 Esdras i. 32. *In all Jewry they mourned for Josiah, and the chief men with the women, made lamentation for him unto this day: and this was given out for an ordinance to be done, continually in all nations of Israel.* The men in the Levant, now are seldom, I think, spoken of as going to the sepulchres of the dead to weep and wail there; and even when they attend a corpse to the grave to be buried, express great calmness and composure;† but as to this last particular, it appears to have been different anciently, from what is said 2 Sam. iii. 31—34. *David said unto Joab, and to all the people that were with him, Rend your clothes, and gird you with sackloth, and mourn before Abner. And king David himself followed the bier. And they buried Abner in Hebron: and the king lamented over Abner, and said, Died Abner as a fool dieth? &c. And all the people wept again over him.* Perhaps also as to the going to the grave to mourn, the men might anciently, on some occasions, repair thither; for many of the Jews attended Mary when she went to weep, as they appre-

* So Noldius observes it is sometimes equivalent to *nempe, nimirum*, (Sig. 38;) but he remarks, it sometimes signifies *sicut, quemadmodum*, (Sig. 62.)

† Russell, vol. i. p. 311—12; and Shaw, p. 219.

hended, at the grave of her brother Lazarus.* But public mourning of the men was undoubtedly much less frequent than among the women; though, it may be more common than in later times.

Before I dismiss this article, it may not be improper to beg my reader to consider, whether the words of Jeremiah, Lamentations ii. 19, may not be understood after the same manner: *Arise, cry out in the night: in the beginning of the watches pour out thine heart like water before the face of the* LORD: *lift up thy hands toward him, for thy young children, that faint for hunger on the top of every street.*

The clause translated for the life of thy young *children that faint*, may signify, I apprehend, on account of the loss of the life of thy young children. If it was for the saving their lives, the supplication might as well have been presented by day as by night; but if it means mourning their deaths, the night season, and in particular the first watch of the night, was a proper time for that kind of mourning, according to the present usage of the women of Ghinnah.

The following part of the description of Lam. ii. of those that *lay in the streets*, represents them as slain; the lying of children in the streets, should, in like manner, one would think, be designed to express their lying dead there for want of food, as those grown up lay there slain by the sword. More especially when we find they are described in a preceding verse, as swooning as the wounded in the streets, which swooning was unto death. The equivocalness, at least, of the expression will appear, if the words be translated, literally, from the Hebrew, "lift up thy hands toward him over the souls of thy young children."† It appears, from a drawing in the second tome of le Bruyn,

* John xi. 31.

† שאי אליו כפיך על נפש עולליך

Saee elaiv kappeek âl nephesh olalayik.

Lift up to him thy open hands over the soul of thy little ones. EDIT.

representing the mourning of the women of Ramah at the tombs of their dead relations, that lifting up their hands on high was one posture into which they threw themselves. And as the word רנ *ronnee*, translated *cry out*, signifies much more frequently singing than crying, it is not at all improbable, that Jeremiah refers here to such modes of mourning as were observed by Irwin at Ghinnah.

OBSERVATION X.

MOURNERS AT FUNERALS.

HAVING occasion lately to turn over the latter part of Mr. Pope's translation of the Illiad, I was greatly surprised to find a passage of St. Matthew strangely misunderstood, which relates to the weepers by profession, that anciently attended funerals, and still do so in the Levant.

> "A melancholy choir attend around,
> With plaintive sighs, and music's solemn sound:
> Alternately they sing, alternate flow
> Th' obedient tears, melodious in their woe."
>
> Book xxiv. v. 900—905.

The note here is, "This was a custom generally received, and which passed from the Hebrews to the Greeks, Romans, and Asiatics. There were weepers by profession, of both sexes, who sung doleful tunes round the dead. Ecclesiasticus* xii. 5. *When a man shall go into the house of his eternity, there shall encompass him weepers.* It appears from St. Matthew xi. 17, that children were likewise employed in this office. *Dacier.*"

It does not appear, I think, that children were hired to mourn at funerals; and if that could be shown from other places, the passage in St. Matthew would by no means prove it, for it is evident that our LORD is speaking of the diversions of children; their imitating the transactions of

* It should have been Ecclesiastes.

maturer life, not of their serious employments. What mourners at a funeral would these children have been, who, when their companions began the melancholy music, refused to join them, with the usual forms of mourning? This might very naturally happen when they were amusing themselves with imitating the mournings at a funeral, or the rejoicings at a wedding, but would have been intolerable if they had been performing a part in real life.

A commentator on Virgil might, with almost as good a grace, represent the account of *Ludus Trojæ*, in the 5th Eneid, as the description of a real battle in Sicily.

OBSERVATION XI.

SINGING USED IN FUNERAL PROCESSIONS BOTH BY MEN AND WOMEN.

The people of these countries are wont to be carried to their graves, not only with violent wailings of the female part of the funeral convoy; but with devout singing of the male part of this last: it seems to be referred to in the Scriptures, as well as the first, though seldom, if ever, mentioned in the writings of those that have explained them.

Dr. Russell has mentioned this devout singing of the male part of the attendants when a corpse is carrying to the grave. "When the corpse is carried out, a number of sheekhs,* with their tattered banners, walk first: next come the male friends; and after them the corpse, carried with the head foremost upon men's shoulders. The bearers are relieved very often, for every passenger thinks it meritorious to lend some little help on such solemn occasions. The nearest male relations immediately follow, and the women close the procession with dreadful

* A sort of people among them supposed to possess great sanctity.

shrieks, while the men all the way are singing prayers out of the Koran."*

Mr. Irwin, I remember, mentions the like singing, as observed by him at Ghinnah, in Upper Egypt.

There is so much resemblance, according to Dr. Russell, between the Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews in the East, as to their nuptial observances and burial ceremonies, that it is natural to suppose this singing is common to all. It is not however a mere conclusion, drawn from what the Mohammedans practise: Dean Addison has expressly told us he found it practised by the Jews of Barbary.

"The corpse is borne by four to the place of burial, in this procession: in the first rank march the Chachams, or priests, next to them the kindred of the deceased, after whom come those that are invited to the funeral; and all singing in a sort of plain song the 49th Psalm. And if it lasts not till they come to the grave, they begin it again."†

The Dean tells us, "It may not be unfit to observe, that though the modern ceremonies of burial are neither so numerous or costly as those of old among the Jews; yet they do not much vary from them: for the washing the body was in use at the time of Tabitha's death:‡ and the chief mourner spoken of before, as also the weekly lamenting of the dead, refers to the women hired to lament at the burials: and which the Scripture calls mourning women, Jerem. ix. 17, the same with the *præficæ* among the Romans. They likewise agree in the places of burial, which are now, as formerly, without the towns or cities where they live, excepting that in Fez they have a burying place within the city, adjoining to the Juderia, or the part where they live."‖

* Descript. of Aleppo, vol. i. p. 305—309. † Present State of the Jews, p. 218.

‡ Acts ix. 37. ‖ P. 220.

Other writers have given an account of mourning women being retained in the East;* but the instances Dean Addison has given, as proofs of the continuance of that custom in these countries, do not seem to me to be happily chosen: the chief mourner, who receives them with his jaws tied up with a linen cloth, after the same manner as they bind up the dead, appears to have been one of the nearest relations, not one hired to personate another in affliction; as those that go now every week, and, I may add, often more frequently, certainly are not hired people, but relations, that go to weep there, as Mary the

* So the Abbot Mascrier tells us, from the papers of M. Maillet, that not only do the relations and female friends, in Egypt, surround the corpse, while it remains unburied, with the most bitter cries scratching and beating their faces so violently as to make them bloody, and black and blue, but "to render the hubbub more complete, and do the more honor to the dead person, whom they seem to imagine to be very fond of noise, those of the lower class of people are wont to call in, on these occasions, certain *women*, who play on tabors, and whose business it is to sing mournful airs to the sound of this instrument, which they accompany with a thousand distortions of their limbs, as frightful as those of people possessed by the devil. These women attend the corpse to the grave, intermixed with the female relations and friends of the deceased, who commonly have their hair in the utmost disorder, like the frantic Bacchanalian women of the ancient heathens, their heads covered with dust, their faces daubed with indigo, or at least rubbed with mud, and howling like mad people. This way of bewailing the dead has obtained even among the Christians of Egypt. I myself have seen a young woman here, who was a Catholic, and who, having lost her mother, who had resided in the quarter of the Franks, sent for these tabor players to come and lament her. Scarcely could the Capuchins prevail upon her to dismiss these Mohammedan women, who were wont to sing on such occasions." Lett. 10, p. 89. What this writer says, shows the attachment of the Eastern people to this custom, since the Capuchins of Grand Cairo, who with some other religious orders that are settled there, and with great zeal are said by him to labour for the propagation of the Roman faith, had so much ado to prevail on one of their own church not to employ Mohammedan hired mourners, to lament her deceased parent, instead of recurring to those good fathers to sing a Requiem to her soul, according to the papal mode. We Protestants may suppose the singing of the one as efficacious as that of the other, and the motives of one as pure and disinterested as those of the other; but this conduct of a member of the Romish communion, for some time obstinately persisted in, shows the great force of the custom, and, consequently, the universality of the practice among other people there.

sister of Lazarus was supposed by the Jews to do, when she rose up hastily, and went out of the town, where JESUS indeed was, but near to which place was also the grave of her brother. John xi. 31.

And as the Jews now, as well as the Mohammedans, are wont to carry their dead to the grave with devout singing, it cannot be unlikely that it was the common custom in the East anciently, for hymns to be sung by the more sedate part of the company, as it was for the female relations, with their hired companions the singing women, to make use of very violent lamentations. It is admitted by all, that this last practice obtained, and the following passages are proofs of it, Jer. ix. 17, 18: *Call for the mourning women, that they may come; and send for cunning women that they may come. And let them make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes may run down with tears, and our eyelids gush out with waters.* To which may be added ver. 20. Can it then be thought difficult to admit the supposition, that the last clause of Amos vi. 10, is to be understood of the more sedate singing of portions of holy writ, according to the modern practice of these countries: *A man's uncle shall take him up, and he that burneth him, to bring out the bones out of the house, and shall say unto him that is by the sides of the house, Is there yet any with thee? and he shall say, No. Then shall he say, hold thy tongue; for we may not make mention of the name of the* LORD.

The 8th chapter of that Prophet, ver. 3, speaks of many dead bodies in every place, and says, *They shall cast them forth in silence;* that however may be understood of neglecting the sending for hired mourners to lament over them; but the other passage speaks of the not mentioning the name of the LORD, which seems to refer to something very different from the extravagant female lamentations of the East of these modern times: and most probably from the explanations of ancient hired mourners.

The Jews of Barbary, of the last century, were wont to sing in their funeral processions the 49th Psalm. It cannot I apprehend, be positively determined, what the portion of holy writ was that they were wont to recite when carrying their dead to the grave, in the time of the Prophet Amos, but it might as well be the 49th Psalm, as any other part of Scripture; and as it was actually made use of in Barbary a hundred years ago, it is, perhaps, most likely to have been anciently made use of in the East. Now in that Psalm, GOD is celebrated, as he that would raise his people from the grave to life, after having long laid there. *The upright shall have dominion over them in the morning; and their beauty shall consume in the grave, from their dwelling. But* GOD *will redeem my soul from the power of the grave: for he shall receive me.* Ver. 14, 15. But he had been celebrated by them as the GOD that chastised the heathen,* but would not cast off his people, or forsake his inheritance,† in this present life; when then appearances seemed contrary to this, the heathen were ready to say, *Where is their* GOD?‡ and Israel were ready to be ashamed of avowing their hope in him as to a resurrection from the dead, in a future state of things, which the 49th Psalm celebrated, when appearances in this present state were so contrary to their expectations, and their songs of hope, as they were, when in a house so crowded with inhabitants, that there should be ten men in it, all should perish by the sword, by famine or pestilence, so that not one should remain, was it not natural, that in such a state of things, he that searched through such a desolated house, should say, at carrying away the last dead body for interment, Be silent, it doth not become us to make mention of GOD's care of Israel in hereafter raising us from the dead, in

* Ps. lxxix. 9, 10. "Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy name; and deliver us, and purge away our sins, for thy name sake. Wherefore should the heathen say, Where is their God?"

† Ps. xciv. 10. ‡ Ver. 14.

carrying them to the grave, when he is thus visibly abandoning his mercy toward his people? or, in the words of our translation, *Hold thy tongue, for we may not make mention of the name of the* LORD.

The Bishop of Waterford, in his most laudable attempt to illustrate the Twelve Minor Prophets, which have so many obscure passages in them, thus translates this part of the verse,

——"Then shall he say, Be silent,
Because they set not themselves to mention the name of JEHOVAH."

And his comment on this verse, which he considers as obscure, represents this part of it as probably signifying, "Solitude shall reign in the house; and if one is left, he must be silent, see ch. viii. 3, and retired, lest he be plundered of his scanty provisions."

It is certain that those afflictions of the Jewish nation, were considered by the Prophet, as the effect of their forgetfulness of GOD; but the interpretation I am proposing will readily be acknowledged to be more pointed and lively, if it be admissible. Whether it be, or not, must be left to my reader to determine:

OBSERVATION XII.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE IRISH CAOINAN, OR ANCIENT FUNERAL CRY.*

THIS subject may be further illustrated by an account of the ancient Irish funeral solemnities, which, with many others of their customs, bear a very near resemblance to those in the East, and particularly to some mentioned in the Bible.

The body of the deceased, dressed in grave clothes, and ornamented with flowers, was placed on some elevated

* See the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

spot. The relations and *Caoniers* ranged themselves in two divisions, one at the head, and the other at the feet of the corpse. The bards or croteries had before prepared the funeral CAOINAN. The chief bard or head chorus, began by singing the first stanza, in a low doleful tone, which was softly accompanied by the harp: at the conclusion, the foot semi-chorus began the lamentation or ULLALOO, from the final note of the preceding stanza, in which they were answered by the head semi-chorus; then both united in one general chorus. The chorus of the first stanza being ended, the chief bard of the foot semi-chorus sung the second stanza, the strain of which was taken from the concluding note of the proceeding chorus: which ended, the head semi-chorus began the GOL or lamentation, in which they were answered by that of the foot, and then, as before, both united in the general full chorus. Thus alternately, were the song and chorus performed during the night.

The genealogy, rank, possessions, virtues and vices of the deceased were represented; and a number of interrogations were addressed to the dead person: As, why did he die? If married, whether his wife was faithful to him, his sons dutiful, or good warriors? If a woman, whether her daughters were fair, or chaste? If a young man, whether he had been crossed in love? or if the blue eyed maids of Erin had treated him with scorn?

Lhuyd, says, each versicle of the caoinan consisted only of four feet, and each foot was commonly of two syllables: the three first required no correspondence, but the fourth was to correspond with the terminations of the other versicles. Archaelog. Brit. p. 309.

After this account, follows in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, the whole funeral song or *caoinan*, set to music, in which we find an *address to the corpse*, then the *first semi-chorus*, next the *second chorus*, and then the *full chorus of sighs and groans*. All these parts are thrice repeated, but in different notes and

expressions. The following is a translation of the addresses to the dead body of the son of Connal, which are found in this ancient piece:

"O son of Connal, why didst thou die? Royal, noble, learned youth! Valiant, active, warlike, eloquent! Why didst thou die, alas, awail-a-day!

"Alas, Alas! he who sprung from nobles of the race of Heber, warlike chief! O son of Connal, noble youth! Why didst thou die? Alas, O! Alas!

"Alas! O! Alas! he who was in possession of flowery meads, verdant hills, lowing herds, rivers and grazing flocks, rich, gallant, lord of the golden vale! Why did he die? alas, awail-a-day!

"Alas! Alas! why didst thou die, O son of Connal, before the spoils of victory by thy warlike arm were brought to the hall of the nobles, and thy shield with the ancient? Alas! Alas!"

The music of the above, though rude and simple, is nevertheless bold, highly impassioned, and deeply affecting. I have often witnessed it among the descendants of the aboriginal Irish on funeral occasions. The ULLALOO of the Irish is precisely the same both in *sense* and *sound* with the ولولة *oolooleh*, of the Arabians, which is a strong and dreadfully mournful cry, set up by the female relatives of a deceased person, the instant of his death, and continued, just like the Irish *caoinan*, at intervals during the night. Dr. Russell says, History of Aleppo, vol. i. p. 306, that "it is so shrill as to be heard at a prodigious distance." From this word it is likely the יללי *yalal* of the Hebrews, the ολολυζω of the Greeks, and the *ululo* of the Romans, all proceed; as they have been used in their respective countries, to express the deepest grief, and especially on funeral occasions. EDIT.

OBSERVATION XIII.

LAMENTATIONS OF THE FAMILY OF HOUSSAIN.

THE passionate excess to which lamentations for deceased relatives are carried among the Asiatics, bears a striking resemblance to the preceding, and will appear still further by the following extract from the Tanzea, or lamentations of the family of Houssain,* who annually lament his death, or, as they term it, *martyrdom*, during the Mohurrum, or ninth month of the Mohammedan year:

"It is related, that upon the death of the *Iman*,† on whom be peace, his faithful horse, *Zu al Jinnah*,‡ remained near the body of his master in the utmost affliction, permitting no one to approach: and whosoever attempted to lay hold of him, he instantly repelled by his heels and teeth.

"When the infidels saw this they retired to a distance, and pierced his body with a shower of arrows. Unable to sustain this attack, he threw himself upon the ground, and rolled in the dust, mingling his own blood with that of the *Iman*. Then rising up he made to the tents where the weeping family of his master remained.

* *Houssain* was the son of Alee, and married Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed. Being persecuted by Yezid, who usurped the Khalifat, endeavouring to escape from Mecca to Coufah, whither he was invited by the inhabitants, he was intercepted in the plain of Kerbela, with 72 of his children and relations, by Obedalla, one of the generals of the usurper Yezid, and cut to pieces. This happened the 10th day of the month Mohurrum, the 61st year of the Hijreh. This murder was the foundation of that implacable enmity which subsists between the Ommiades and Abassides to the present day. From the 1st to the 10th of this month which answers to our October, the Persians observe a solemn mourning for the death of these two Imans, *Houssain*, and *Hussen*.

† *Iman*, sovereign successor of Mohammed in things religious and civil.

‡ *Zu al Jinnah*, the famous horse on which Houssain was mounted when slain in the plains of Kerbela.

"On his arrival, he began to neigh vehemently; and those within, hearing the sound of his well known voice, immediately rushed forth, hoping once more to see their beloved patron return. But alas! O misfortune! they perceived the faithful *Zu al Jinnah* pierced with wounds, and covered with blood. At this sight the whole family set up a loud lamentation. And first, the Lady *Zineb*,* barefooted, and with dishevelled hair, rushed forth from the tents, and fell at the feet of the horse *Zu al Jinnah*, and thus addressed him:—

"O horse! what hast thou done with my beloved brother? Where is the light of the prophet *Mohammed Mustafah?* Wherefore hast thou returned alone from the battle?

METRE.

Say, O horse, where is the son of *Mortaz Alee* ?†
Where is the martyr of Kerbelaie ?‡
Whither is fled my comfort, my support ?
The favour'd of God, whither is he fled ?

After her came the youth *Zeen ul Abedeen*,‖ upon whom be peace: at that time he laboured under a dangerous fever: but regardless of any thing but his grief, he threw his arms about the neck of the horse *Zu al Jinnah*, still bleeding from the wounds received in the battle, and thus in passionate exclamations he addressed him:

"O horse! what hast thou done with the prince of religion? What is become of the fragrant flowers of the garden of *Kheen ul Nissa* ?§ Alas! alas! O misfortune and distress!"

* *Zineb*, Houssain's sister.

† *Mortaz Alee*, the chosen of God, a sirname of Alee.

‡ *Kerbela*, the place in which Houssain and his 72 attendants were slain by Obedalla, who surrounded them with 10,000 horse. Houssain and his followers fought desperately, and sold their lives at a very high price.

‖ *Zeen ul Abedeen*, the eldest son of Houssain.

§ *Keen ul Nissa*, the most excellent of women, Fatima daughter of Mohammed, wife of Alee, and mother of Houssain.

Next came the beauteous *Sekeena*, the daughter of the *Iman*. Pierced with the most poignant anguish, she rushed forth from the tents, and with tears flowing from her eyes, thus addressed the horse *Zu al Jinnah:*

METRE.

O horse stained with blood!
What hast thou done with my father?
That unfortunate, grief-smitten, much-enduring man.
O horse, stain'd with blood!
Where lieth the crown of my delight?
Where lieth the son of Alee, my friend?
My companion—my morning—my evening.
O horse stain'd with blood!
Say, where lieth my father, my father?
Say, where lieth the offspring of the victorious lion?*
Say, where lieth the prince of pure religion?
O horse, say whither is the grandson of the prophet gone?
Where is he who is slain by the points of the daggers?
Where is the delight of the unfortunate *Sekeena?*
Where is the *Iman* expiring with thirst?
Where is the father of *Sekeena?*
Where is the bright taper of *Sekeena's* nights?
Where is the support, the comfort of *Sekeena?*
O horse, thou hast pierced with wounds the heart of *Sekeena?*
Thou hast borne her father to the field of martyrdom.
Say where is the life's blood of *Fatima?*
Where is the *Iman* beloved of God?
O horse, why is thy body stain'd with blood?
Why is thy saddle in disorder?
Alas! I now remain an unfortunate orphan!
My father, my protector, is no more!—
O horse, stain'd with blood, I am thy sacrifice:
I am the sacrifice to thy bleeding master:
I am the sacrifice to thy overflowing eyes.
O horse, I am the sacrifice to thy dishevelled mane.
Go, O faithful *Zu al Jinnah!* once more return to the field of battle;
Perchance thou may'st restore my father to me.
O my oppressed and unfortunate father, where art thou?
Wherefore art thou separated from *Sekeena?*
Thou wentest forth, alas? in search of water for thy family, expiring with thirst;
But, alas! thou bringest not back consolation to the afflicted.
Return—O return, my father!—our thirst is satisfied.
Without thee nothing can be acceptable.
O God! by the hapless situation of the orphans,

* *Victorious Lion*, Alee, sirnamed Assad Allah, or the Lion of God.

By the grief of the weeping domestics;
Look upon us with the eyes of compassion,
And restore us the prince of the martyrs!

The address of Sekeena to the horse of Houssain may to a European reader appear perfectly extravagant; but it is exactly in the Eastern manner, and examples of it are very numerous in the poetic and rhetorical works of the Asiatics. The sacred writings also abound with it: so the Prophet Micah, *Arise, contend thou before the mountains, and let the hills hear thy voice. Hear ye, O mountains, the* LORD'S *controversy, and ye strong foundations of the earth; for the* LORD *hath a controversy with his people, and will plead with Israel.* ch. vi. 2, 3. And Isaiah, *Howl, O gate! Cry, O city!* ch. xiv. 31. *Howl, ye ships of Tarshish, for your strength is laid waste,* ch. xxiii. 14. And Moses, *Give ear, O ye heavens, and I will speak; and hear O earth, the words of my mouth!* Deut. xxxii. 1. Examples of this kind might be multiplied to any amount: but independently of these references, the Lamentation itself, which is now published for the first time, cannot fail to interest and affect every intelligent reader. EDIT.

OBSERVATION XIV.

SOME FURTHER PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE LAMENTATION FOR HOUSSAIN.

IT is not only customary for the people of these countries to repair to the graves of the dead, to lament their departed friends, and to cover their tombs with tears and with flowers, or herbs; they lament those of a public character in anniversary solemnities at a distance, from their tombs, with mournful music, and oftentimes in such a manner as they think may best represent the circumstances of their affliction or their death, as far as they can with propriety: and traces of this kind of lamentation may be found in the Scriptures.

The annual mourning of the Persians for the death of Houssain, second son of Ali, and grandson to Mohammed their great prophet, which Houssain they believe to have been the true and rightful khalif, but who was rejected by the majority of the followers of Mohammed, and killed by the troops of his rival: I say, the annual mourning for Houssain by the Persians, is pretty well known, by those that are conversant in books of travels, but is particularly described by Sir John Chardin in his 3d tome, p. 173, &c.

They visit his sepulchre, near the ancient Babylon, with great devotion from time to time. Niebuhr, in the second of those three volumes of travels which were published after the publication of his account of Arabia, gives an account of his visiting this celebrated tomb. But the annual mourning his death takes place *at a distance*, for it is observed through all Persia, whereas Kerbela, the place where the tomb is, is in the dominions of the Great Turk.

The account Chardin gives is, in short, that "the Persians continue this mourning ten days, beginning with the first day of their year, and finishing with the tenth day appearances of joy and pleasure, and appear as mourners of the first month, when he was slain; that they suspend all in their dress; that discourses of an affecting kind, relating to his being killed, &c. are pronounced in numerous assemblies of the Persians; that to their mournful cries of Houssain are joined the sounds of melancholy music; that numbers personate Houssain, who at the time of his death was overwhelmed with thirst, and covered with blood gushing from his various wounds, some daubing themselves with something black, to represent the first, supposing that extreme thirst produced this effect on this prince,* and others making use of some red substance to make them resemble Houssain when covered with blood; he also mentions hymns sung on this solemn occasion, to the honor of Houssain and his race, and this is done in

* See Lam. iv. 8, and ch. v. 10.

the royal palace, in the hearing of the Persian prince himself, as well as in other places among the common people.

This account may enable us, probably, to form a still juster notion of the Jewish way of mourning their death of King Josiah in later, and perhaps of the daughter of Jephthah in elder times, being added to a preceding article.

They were, probably, both of them annual mournings. The Hebrew word חק *chok*, translated *ordinance, (Jeremiah lamented for Josiah ; and all the singing-men and singing-women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day, and made them* (לחק lechok) *an ordinance in Israel*, 2 Chronicles xxxv. 25,) seems to determine this; as the mourning for the daughter of Jephthah, which was, without controversy, an annual solemnity; *It was a custom* (חק chok or ordinance) *in Israel, that the daughters of Israel went yearly to lament the daughter of Jephthah, the Gileadite, four days in a year.** A consideration of the nature of the thing strongly confirms the same thought: for it could not be an appointment that these songs of lamentation over Josiah should be continually sung; or nothing else sung on mournful occasions. But the sacred writer seems to mean that this anniversary mourning for Josiah continued to the time of his writing this history.

Melancholy music is used with songs in mourning for Houssain, and as music generally accompanies songs in the East, both, probably, were used in lamenting Josiah.

The more powerfully to excite sorrow, the Persians make use of some additional circumstances bearing some resemblance to the situation of those for whom they mourn: their funeral panegyrics are delivered in places, according to Chardin, hung round with arms of various kinds, as Houssain was surrounded with a multitude of armed men when he died; and some of the people besmear themselves with some black substance, and others with a red, to represent him perishing with thirst and an effusion of blood. In like manner the Israelitish damsels, who mourn-

* Judges xi. 39, 40.

ed Jephthah's daughter, might wander together in companies up and down the mountains, as she had done, which were more covered with trees than the low lands, and more proper for melancholy services on that account, if we should suppose, their repairing to her tomb to mourn there too inconvenient to be performed, in general, by the virgins that dwelt in places remote from Gilead. Whether any of the deadly instruments of war were made use of, to enliven the mourning, at the anniversary commemoration of the death of Josiah, particularly of that kind which proved fatal to him, may be doubted; however I have elsewhere shown from Mr. Irwin, that a sword was used at Ghinnah, in Upper Egypt, by the women there, that in a solemn procession, with songs and music, bewailed the death of a merchant of that country, placing themselves round a sword, by which kind of weapon he was killed, in the desert between that town and the Red Sea.

The mourning for Houssain continues ten days; how long the annual mourning for Josiah was, is absolutely uncertain: four days we are told by the historian was the time spent every year in lamenting the daughter of Jephthah; which might be employed by some in visiting her grave with music and panegyrical songs; and by the more distant virgins, in wandering up and down the mountains with their companions, with melancholy music and songs of praise.

So among the modern Persians, some visit the tomb of Houssain with great devotion; others commemorate his death, with solemnity, at a great distance from the place in which he lies interred.*

OBSERVATION XV.

BEATING THE ARMS USED IN MOURNING FOR THE DEAD.

Among other rites of mourning made use of by the Oriental Jews, in the time of St. Jerom, was the beating

* See a remarkable account of this mourning, Observation XI. p. 33.

their arms with such vehemence as to render them black and blue. I should apprehend then, it would be no unnatural supposition, to consider Ezekiel's uncovering his arms, when he was personating the Jewish people at the time Jerusalem was besieged, as the exposing the bruises of lamentation he had inflicted on that part, though it is quite the reverse of the explanation that has been given by those commentators I have consulted.

St. Jerom tells us, that on the return of the day on which Jerusalem was taken by the Romans, and demolished, "the Jews were annually wont to assemble in great numbers, many of them decrepit old women and aged men in rags, bearing the marks of GOD's displeasure both in their person and dress, and while the memorial* of the death and resurrection of the LORD appeared with great splendor, and the figure of the cross shone on the top of Mount Olivet, these miserable people mourned over the ruins of their temple, and though their cheeks were covered with tears, their arms black and blue, and their hair all in disorder, the soldiers demanded money of them† for the liberty of protracting their lamentations a little longer."‡

What this ancient writer meant, by that circumstance of their arms being bruised in that time of mourning, is explained by a passage of his commentary on Jeremiah,‖ to this purpose: *He ordered mourning women to be called, who are wont to lament with a doleful tone of voice,*§ beating their arms with their hand, and so to excite the people to weep. This custom, he observes, continued in Judea to his time, that women with dishevelled hair, open

* Referring, I apprehend, to the magnificent structure that had been built over the sepulchre of our LORD in his time; and to some gilded figure of the cross erected in, or on the top of a Christian place of worship on Mount Olivet. See his comment on Ezek. xi. 23.

† This may serve to explain some part of the counsel John the Baptist gave the soldiers of his time, when they consulted him, Luke iii. 14.

‡ Comm. in Sophonium cap. 1, ver. 14. ‖ Cap. 9. § Voce flebili.

bosoms, and a particular tone of voice, excited tears in all that were present.

The commentators on Ezekiel seem unanimously to suppose, that Ezekiel's looking to Jerusalem was with a threatening countenance, and his arm bare to express the exertions of the besieging army;* but in the preceding directions given him how to behave himself, he uncontrovertibly was to represent not the state of the besieging army, but of the distressed Jews in the city, who would be forced to eat polluted food, and to want even a sufficiency of that; and I think it cannot be imagined that he should be represented, in one and the same paragraph, as personating two such different, and even opposite characters.

OBSERVATION XVI.

WARRIORS OFTEN BURIED WITH THEIR ARMOUR.

THE burying warriors with their arms, seems also to have been a method sometimes made use of, to do them honor.

Ezekiel refers apparently to such a practice when he says, *They shall not lie with the mighty that are fallen of the uncircumcised, which are gone down to hell with their weapons of war: and they have laid their swords under their heads,* ch. xxxii. 27.

Grotius upon this occasion cites 1 Macc. xiii. 22, not very happily, for the Prophet is speaking of burying their arms, particularly their swords with warriors; and the apocryphal historian is describing carvings on pillars, set over the graves of such.

Sir J. Chardin's MS. note is, "in Mingrelia they all sleep with their swords under their heads, and their other

* Ezek. iv. 7.

arms by their sides; and they bury them in the same manner, their arms being placed in the same position." This is all he says; and when we think of the little connexion between Mingrelia and a Jewish Prophet, we read the remark with some coolness. But things greatly alter, when we come to reflect, that it has been supposed by many learned men, and in particular by the extremely celebrated Bochart, that Meshech and Tubal, of whom Ezekiel is here speaking, mean Mingrelia, and the country thereabouts: this greatly excites curiosity, and makes strong impressions on the mind.

In the first place, it cannot but be remarked, that Ezekiel is speaking of the burial of several nations in this chapter, Egypt, Ashur, Elam, Edom, &c. but no mention is made of interring weapons of war in any of the paragraphs, that only excepted which speaks of Meshech and Tubal, which nations are joined together by the Prophet. The burying warriors then with their weapons of war, seems to have had some distinguishing relation to Meshech and Tubal, or Mingrelia and the adjoining country.

Secondly, The modern management there seems to be derived from the customs of the very ancient inhabitants of that country: and we are not to suppose, on the contrary, that the Prophet intends here to distinguish Meshech and Tubal from the other nations of antiquity, by this circumstance, that those other nations were buried with their weapons of war, whereas Meshech and Tubal were buried without them: since the inhabitants of Mingrelia are thus buried now: since customs hold a long time in the East; since we see nothing of this martial pomp in the interments of the modern inhabitants of the other countries named here; nor any accounts of their burying them in this form there anciently, in any of the sacred writings.

When the Prophet says, ver. 27, *They shall not lie with the mighty that are fallen of the uncircumcised,*

which are gone down to hell, (or the grave,) *with their weapons of war, and they have laid their swords under their heads,* they must be the Egyptians he is here speaking of; or he must mean that the Mingrelian warriors that were cut off with the sword were, as totally vanquished, buried by their enemies, and without the usual martial solemnities with which the people of that country were wont to have their dead interred.

It cannot well be understood in the first sense, because the Prophet, all along, describes the Egyptians as being to lie with the rest of the uncircumcised in the grave; it most probably is therefore to be understood in the second.*

OBSERVATION XVII.

BURYING PERSONS WITHIN THE WALLS OF CITIES, A TOKEN OF RESPECT.

THE burying of persons in their cities is also an Eastern manner of doing them honor. They are in common buried without the walls of their towns, as is apparent, from many places of the Old and New Testament, the ancient Jews also were thus buried; but sometimes they bury in their cities, when they do a person a distinguished honor.

"Each side of the road," says the author of the history of the Piratical States of Barbary,† "without the gate, is crowded with sepulchres. Those of the Pasha and the Deys are built near the gate of Babalonet. They are between ten and twelve feet high, very curiously white washed, and built in the form of a dome. Hali

* This perhaps may be more easily admitted, if it is considered, that the original words, translated, "and they have laid their swords under their heads, but," &c. are, "and they have given their swords under their heads, and their iniquities," &c. which may be understood of their swords *not* being placed under their heads, but taken away by their conquerors.

† Page 163.

Dey, as a very eminent mark of distinction, was buried in an enclosed tomb within the city. For forty days successively his tomb was decorated with flowers, and surrounded with people, offering up prayers to GOD for his soul. This Dey was accounted a saint, and a particular favourite of heaven, because he died a natural death; a happiness of which there are few instances since the establishment of the Deys in Algiers."

No comment is more lively, or more sure, than this, on those that speak of the burying the kings of the house of David within Jerusalem; those sepulchres, and that of Huldah the prophetess, being the only ones to be found there.* But it is not a perfect comment; for it is to be remembered that a peculiar holiness belonged to Jerusalem, as well as the dignity of being the royal city, but no particular sanctity is ascribed to Algiers, by those people that buried Hali Dey there.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

SEPULCHRAL MEMORIALS USED IN THE EAST. CURIOUS ACCOUNT OF THE WRITTEN MOUNTAINS.

THIS burying persons in their cities is a very extraordinary honor paid the dead; sepulchral memorials are a much more common one: they are, however, attended with circumstances that want illustration, consequently to be considered in this chapter.

I would here examine those words of Job, *O that my words were now written! O that they were printed in a book! That they were graven with an iron pen and lead, in the rock for ever!* Job xix. 23, 24.

The sense of these words, according to the translation of the celebrated Schultens, and Dr. Grey's notes extracted from him, is this: Who will write my words!

* Lightfoot, vol. 4, p. 21.

Who will record them in a book! Let them be engraven on some sepulchral stone, with an iron pen, and with lead, so as to last for ever!

The word *rock*, which our translators have made use of, seems to me to be more just than that used by Schultens. It is certain that the word צור *tzur*, which is in the original, signifies in other places of the book of Job, a rock; and never there, or any where else in the Scriptures, that I am aware of, and I have with some care examined the point, does it signify a small sepulchral stone, or monumental pillar. On the other hand I am sure, the words that are used for this purpose, when the sacred writers speak of the sepulchral stone on Rachel's grave; of the pillar erected by Absalom to keep up his memory; and of that monument which marked out the place where the Prophet was buried that prophesied against the altar of Jeroboam, and which continued to the days of Josiah; are different.

Nor can the using this term appear strange, if we consider the extreme antiquity of the book of Job; since it is easy to imagine, that the first inscriptions on stones were engraved on some places of the rocks which were accidentally smoothed, and made pretty even. And, in fact, we find some that are very ancient, engraved on the natural rock, and what is remarkable, in Arabia, where it is supposed Job lived. This is one of the most curious observations in that account of the Prefetto of Egypt, which was published by the late Bishop of Clogher; and is, in my apprehension, an exquisite confirmation of our translation, though there is reason to think, neither the writer, nor editor of that journal, thought of this passage, and so consequently claims a place in this collection.

The Prefetto, speaking in his journal of his disengaging himself at length from the mountains of Faran, says, "they came to a large plain, surrounded however with high hills, at the foot of which we reposed ourselves in

our tents, at about half an hour after ten. These hills are called *Gebel el Mokatab*, that is, the *Written Mountains:* for, as soon as we had parted from the mountains of Faran, we passed by several others for an hour together, engraved with ancient unknown characters, which were cut in the hard marble rock, so high, as to be in many places at twelve or fourteen feet distance from the ground: and though we had in our company persons who were acquainted with the Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic, Latin, Armenian, Turkish, English, Illyrican, German, and Bohemian languages, yet none of them had any knowledge of these characters; which have nevertheless been cut into the hard rock, with the greatest industry, in a place where there is neither water, nor any thing to be gotten to eat.

"It is probable, therefore, these unknown characters contain some very secret mysteries, and that they were engraved either by the Chaldeans, or some other persons long before the coming of Christ."

The mention of the English, the Illyrican, the German, and the Bohemian languages, might at least have been spared out of this enumeration of particulars: it would have been sufficient to have remarked, they were in none of the characters now in use in the East, or in any of those in which ancient inscriptions before known are found written in those countries.

The curious Bishop of Clogher, who most laudably made very generous proposals to the Antiquarian Society, to engage them to try to decypher these inscriptions, was ready to imagine they are the ancient Hebrew characters, which the Israelites, having learned to write at the time of giving the law, diverted themselves with engraving on these mountains, during their abode in the wilderness.

The making out, upon what occasion these letters were engraven, might probably be very entertaining to some of the inquisitive; I very much question, however, whether we can naturally suppose, this laborious way of

writing was practised for diversion. The Prefetto says, they were an hour passing by these mountains, by which, however, I do not imagine he designs to insinuate that this whole length of rock is engraven, but only that every now and then there is an inscription, and that from the first which they observed, to the last, was an hour's journey, or three miles; but cutting the letters of these inscriptions into the hard marble, and sometimes at twelve or fourteen feet from the ground, which is the Prefetto's account, could not surely be mere diversion.

When, on the contrary, I consider the nature of the place, there being neither water, nor any thing to be gotten to eat; and compare it with the account Maillet gives us* of the burying place of the Egyptians, which is called the plain of Mummies, and which, according to him, is a dry, sandy, circular plain, no less than four leagues over; and when I recollect the account that Maundrell gives of figures and inscriptions, which, like these, are engraven on tables plained in the natural rock, and at some height above the road, which he found near the river Lycus,† which figures, he tells us, seemed to resemble mummies, and related, as he imagined, to some sepulchres, thereabouts; I am ready to suppose this must be some very ancient burying place.‡ Such a supposition justifies the

* Lett. 7, p. 276. † Page 37.

‡ Either of the Israelites when in the wilderness, in which case the examining the inscriptions will answer the same end, as if the Bishop of Clogher's supposition were just; or of some warriors belonging to other nations, who lay buried there; or made use of upon some other occasion, of which the memory is now lost. I must not however conceal from my reader, that since the first edition of this book, a paper of Mr Wortley Montague's has been published in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. 56, in which he seems to ascribe these engravings to pilgrims, in their journies from Jerusalem to Mount Sinai. But would they in that case have been so numerous? Or at least, would they have been engraven by such persons at the height of twelve or fourteen feet? Perhaps there is a mixture of both kinds of inscription. Benjamin the Jew, who lived six hundred years ago, tells us in his Itinerary, that travellers were then wont to inscribe their names on certain remarkable places: he mentions one

explanation of Grey, as to the alluding in these words to a sepulchral inscription; but would engage us to retain the English translation as to the term *rock*, in contradistinction to monumental pillars, or grave stones cut from the quarry.

But be this as it will, it is certain there are in Arabia several inscriptions in the natural rock; that this way of writing is very durable, for these engravings have, it seems, outlived the knowledge of the characters made use of; the practice was, for the same reason, very ancient as well as durable: and if these letters are not so ancient as the days of Moses, which the Bishop of Clogher supposes, yet these inscriptions might very well be the continuation of a practice in use in the days of Job, and

at Jerusalem, p 75, Ed. Elzev. 1633; and Rachel's sepulchre as another, where all Jews that passed by wrote their names, p. 83. In another page he speaks of a great burying place near Rama, which stretched out two miles in length, p. 89 [a] Might not the written mountains be a burial place half as long again as that near Rama? And might not travellers engrave their names on these same rocks, as Benjamin tells us the Jews of his time were wont to do on Rachel's sepulchre, and mingling together the memorials of those way faring men that tarried there only for a night, and of those that were entered into their long home? The Greek and Arabic inscriptions, which "such an one was here at such a time," as Montague assures us, are evidently the trivial memorandums of passengers, written by people of different nations; those engraven at the height of twelve or fourteen feet, one would think should be sepulchral inscriptions. Niebuhr mentions a great cœmetery in this same desert of Sinai, where a great many stones are set up in an erect position, on a high and steep mountain, covered with as beautiful hieroglyphics as those of the ancient Egyptian mountains. The Arabs, he says, carried them to this burial place, which is really more remarkable than the written mountains, seen and described by other travellers in this desert; for so many well cut stones could never be the monuments of wandering Arabs, but must necessarily owe their origin to the inhabitants of some great city near this place, which is however now a desert. P. 347. Unhappily, he does not tell us whether the hieroglyphics of this burial place are incrustated with colours, like those of Egypt, or not.

[a] The whole itinerary of Benjamin should be considered as a mere romance, invented by a Jew, who never, probably, travelled a mile out of his own country, the object of which was, by lying relations of flourishing Jewish states, &c. to raise the drooping spirits of his miserable countrymen. EDIT.

may therefore be thought to be referred to in these words of his, *O that they were graven . . . in the rock for ever!*

But however happy our translators have been in using the word *rock* in the 24th verse, it is certain they have been very far from being so in the 23d, as to the word *printed:* it was absurd to employ a term that expresses what does not appear to have been invented prior to the year 1440; and especially as it does not even by an improper expression convey the idea of Job, which was the *perpetuating* his words, as is apparent from the 24th verse, *records* to which Job refers, being written, not printed among us.

These written Arabian mountains very beautifully illustrate these words in part, and perhaps but in part; for it does not appear from the accounts of the Prefetto with what view lead is mentioned here, *graven with an iron pen and lead.* Grey supposes the letters being hollowed in the rock with the iron pen or chissel, were filled up with melted lead, in order to be more legible; but it does not appear that any of these inscriptions are so filled up. Indeed though some of them are engraven, most of those Dr. Pococke observed* near Mount Sinai, were not cut,

* Vol. i. p. 148. Dr. Pococke, however, himself saw some that were cut, see p. 59; as indeed the expression, that most of them that he saw were stained, implies that some were engraven. That paper of Wortley Montague's, in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. 50, in like manner, speaks of several inscriptions in this wilderness that were stained; but it tells us, that those of the written mountains were engraved with a pointed instrument. *Harmer.*

As there have been some doubts entertained, relative to the existence of the written mountains, I think it necessary to add the following note:

In a letter from Mr. Montague to a physician, a particular friend of his in London, dated Leghorn, June 21, 1773, he writes thus: "———[b] is returned from Abyssinia, and I dare say, that our natural history will be greatly obliged to his abilities, and extraordinary fatigue for important discoveries; but he seems to doubt of the *existence* of the "*written mountain.*" Indeed, he did not directly tell me so, but he said he had written to Mr. Nieupurg, the only survivor of the Danish travellers, and received for answer, "If Montague asserts any such thing, the LORD have mercy upon him!" It is a place as well known as Cairo is among the Arabs, or as Edinburgh is among us."—See European Magazine for 1792, p. 333. EDIT.

[b] I suppose he means *Mr. Bruce.*

but stained, making the granite of a lighter colour, which stain he had an opportunity of being satisfied, sunk some depth into the stone; whether this was done with lead, let the curious determine. The Septuagint do not explain this at all, though the painting of granite rocks was very common anciently in Egypt, and those paintings, stainings, or mere incrustations, as Norden took them to be, extremely durable. "This sort of painting," says Norden, "has neither shade nor degradation. The figures are incrustated like the cyphers on the dial plates of watches, with this difference, that they cannot be detached. I must own, that this incrustated matter surpasses in strength all that I have seen in this kind. It is superior to the Alfresco, and the Mosaic work; and indeed, has the advantage of lasting a longer time. It is something surprising to see how gold, ultramarine, and divers other colours, have preserved their lustre to the present age. Perhaps I shall be asked how all these lively colours could soften together: but I must own it is a question that I am unable to decide."* But if Job referred to the writing with these durable staining materials on the rocks, the Septuagint did not understand him to do so; they seem rather to have supposed he meant the recording things by engraving accounts of them on plates of lead. *Who will cause my words to be written, to be put in a book that shall last for ever: with an iron pen and lead, (i.e.* upon lead,) *or to be engraven on the rocks?* Which cutting letters on lead, marks out an ancient method, indeed, of perpetuating the memory of things, but is very different from that which Dr. Pococke saw had anciently obtained in Arabia, the country of Job, and to which therefore his words may possibly refer.

I am inclined however, upon the reconsidering this place, to believe, that the incrustating materials, that were anciently used for the colouring the engravings on the rock or stone, such as Norden saw in Egypt, are

* 2d part, p. 75, 76.

meant by the word עפרת *ophareth*, translated *lead* here, whether they were preparations of lead, or composed of other matters; since we find it is used Lev. xiv. 42, 45, for the plaster made use of to cover the stones of a building, and perhaps for the terrace mortar of the roof, being applied to a building, in the same way as gold and silver were to the walls of the temple; the same verb being used for the application of both to their respective buildings, 1 Chron. xxix. 4. As it was a common practice in Egypt to overlay their hieroglyphics with some coloured plaster or paint, which the word translated lead signifies, the same might be practised in Arabia in the time of Job, though we are not expressly told that travellers have met with such inscriptions; or this Egyptian way of recording things might be celebrated among the Arabs, and other Eastern nations, as extremely durable, as in fact it has been found to be; and this might be sufficient to engage Job to use this expression, O that my words were written! that they were recorded in a book! that they were graven with an iron pen, and incrustated with some durable plaster, after the manner of the Egyptians, whose memorials are supposed to be the most lasting of any nations!

There is no necessity of supposing that the writing on the stones, mentioned Deut. xxvii. 2, 3, which apparently was designed to be very lasting, was by inscribing them on the plaster of lime, as has been imagined. The plaster or mortar might be commanded, because it is made extremely strong and durable, for some works, in those countries, a circumstance which both Maillet and Shaw* have remarked; whereas clay, or some such mouldering material, might be thought sufficient for the cementing the stones of common buildings. Nay, their monuments were often heaps of stones, unconnected by any cement whatever.† I am not ignorant, that the very learned

* Maillet, Lett. xii. p. 192, 193. Shaw, p. 206. † See Gen. xxxi. 46.

Dr. Kennicott supposes,* that the whole stone was covered with this plaster, excepting the letters, the stones being, he imagines, naturally black. Travellers must decide of what colour the great stones of that district usually are; but most probably these stones were only cemented in this case to keep them in their proper place.

OBSERVATION XIX.

COFFINS ANCIENTLY USED FOR PERSONS OF DISTINCTION.

But previous to these sepulchral honors, there were some methods of honoring the dead, which demand our attention: the being put into a coffin has been, in particular, considered as a mark of distinction.

With us, the poorest people have their coffins, if the relations cannot afford them, the parish is at the expense. In the East, on the contrary, they are not at all made use of in our times: Turks and Christians, Thevenot assures us,† agree in this. The ancient Jews probably buried their dead in the same manner: neither was the body of our Lord, it seems, put into a coffin: nor that of Elisha, whose bones were *touched* by the corpse that was let down a little after into his sepulchre, 2 Kings xiii. 21. That they, however, were anciently made use of in Egypt all agree, and antique coffins of stone, and of sycamore wood, are still to be seen in that country; not to mention those said to be made of a kind of pasteboard, formed by folding and glueing cloth together a great number of times, which were curiously plastered, and then painted with hieroglyphics.‡ Its being an ancient Egyptian custom, and its not being used in the neighbouring countries, were doubtless the cause that the sacred historian expressly

* 2d Dissertation on the state of the printed Heb. Text. Note, p. 77.

† Part i. p. 58.

‡ Thevenot, part i. p. 137.

observes of Joseph, that he was not only embalmed, but that he was put into a coffin too, Gen. i. 26, both being managements peculiar in a manner to the Egyptians.

Bishop Patrick in his commentary on this passage, takes notice of these Egyptian coffins of sycamore wood and of pasteboard, but he does not mention the contrary usage of the neighbouring countries, which was requisite, in order fully to illustrate the place: but even this perhaps would not have conveyed the whole thought of the sacred author. Maillet apprehends, that all were not enclosed in coffins that were laid in the Egyptian repositories of the dead, but that it was an honor appropriated to persons of figure; for after having given an account of several niches that are found in those chambers of death, he adds, "But it must not be imagined that the bodies deposited in these gloomy apartments, were all enclosed in chests, and placed in niches. The greatest part were simply embalmed and swathed after that manner that every one hath some notion of; after which they laid them one by the side of another, without any ceremony. Some were even put into these tombs without any embalming at all; or such a slight one, that there remains nothing of them in the linen in which they were wrapped but the bones, and those half rotten. It is probable that each considerable family had one of these burial places to themselves; that the niches were designed for the bodies of the heads of the family, and that those of their domestics and slaves had no care taken of them, than the laying them in the ground, after having been embalmed, or even without that. Which, without doubt, was also all that was done, even to the heads of families of less distinction."* After which he gave an account of a way of burial, practised anciently in that country, which had been but lately discovered, and which consisted in placing bodies, after they were swathed up, on a layer of char-

* Lett. 7, p. 231.

coal, and covering them with a mat, under a depth of sand of seven or eight feet.

Coffins then were not universally used in Egypt, that is undoubted from these accounts; and probably they were persons only of distinction that were buried in them. It is also reasonable to believe, that in times so remote as those of Joseph, they might be much less common than afterward, and consequently that Joseph's being put into a coffin in Egypt, might be mentioned with a design to express the great honors the Egyptians did him in death, as well as in life; being treated after the most sumptuous manner of the Egyptians, embalmed, and put into a coffin.

Agreeably to this, the Septuagint version, which was made for Egyptians, seems to represent coffins as a mark of grandeur, Job xxi. 32.

It is no objection to this account, that the widow of Nain's son is represented as carried forth to be buried in a Σορος or *bier*, for the present inhabitants of the Levant, who are well known to lay their dead in the earth unenclosed, carry them frequently out to burial in a kind of coffin: so Russell in particular describes the bier used by the Turks at Aleppo as a kind of coffin, much in the form of ours, only the lid rises with a ledge in the middle.* Christians, indeed, that same author tells us, are carried to the grave in an open bier;† but as the most common kind of bier there very much resembles our coffins, that used by the people of Nain might very possibly be of the same kind, in which case the word Σορος was very proper.

OBSERVATION XX.

OF EMBALMING AMONG THE ASIATICS.

If the use of a coffin in burial was doing a particular honor to the dead, the embalming them also certainly was:

* Vol. i. p. 306. † Vol. ii. p. 56.

and the dissertations of the late Dr. Ward, published soon after his death, have given occasion to the annexing this Observation to the rest of this chapter. The Doctor supposes the Jewish method of embalming was very different from the Egyptian, and that this appears by several passages of the New Testament. Both, he thinks, swathed up their dead; but instead of the Egyptian embowelling, he supposes the Jews contented themselves with an external unction; instead of myrrh and cassia, they made use of myrrh and aloes; to which he adds the supposition, that St. John might mention the circumstance of our LORD's embalming, the better to obviate the false report that then prevailed among the Jews, that the body of our LORD had been stolen away in the night by his disciples, for the linen, he supposes, could not have been taken from the body and head, in the manner in which it was found in the sepulchre, on account of its clinging so fast from the viscous nature of these drugs, had they been so foolish as to attempt it.

The modern Egyptian method, of applying odors to the dead, certainly differs from that which was anciently made use of in that country. The present way in Egypt, according to Maillet,* is to wash the body divers times with rose water, which he elsewhere observes, is there much more fragrant than with us; they afterward perfume it with incense, aloes, and a quantity of other odors, of which they are by no means sparing; they after this bury the body in a winding sheet, made partly of silk, and partly of cotton, and moistened, as I imagine, with some sweet scented water, or liquid perfume, though Maillet only uses the simple term *moistened*; this they cover with another cloth of unmixed cotton; to which they add one of the richest suits of clothes of the deceased. The expense, he says, on these occasions, is very great, though nothing like what the genuine embalmings of former times cost.

* Lett. 10. p. 88.

The modern Egyptian way of embalming then, if it may be called by that name, differs very much from the ancient; whether the Jewish method in the time of our LORD differed as much, or how far, I know not. To pass by the difference Dr. Ward has remarked between their drugs, the Egyptians using myrrh and cassia, and the Jews myrrh and aloes, which might be only in appearance, since more than two sorts might be used by both nations, though these only happened to be distinctly mentioned, it does not appear so plain to me as to the Doctor, that the Jews were not wont to embowel their dead in embalming. Their hope of a resurrection did not necessarily prevent this. And as all other nations seem to have embalmed exactly according to the Egyptian manner, the same causes that induced them to do so, probably occasioned the Jews not to vary from them in this respect. So the accurate editor of the Ruins of Palmyra tells us,* they discovered that the inhabitants of that city used to embalm their dead; and that upon comparing the linen, the manner of swathing, the balsam, and other parts of the Mummies of Egypt, in which country they had been a few months before, with those of Palmyra, they found their method of embalming exactly the same. Zenobia, whose seat of government was Palmyra, was originally a native of Egypt, this writer observes; but then he remarks, that these bodies were embalmed before her time. So that passage which the Doctor cites † from Tacitus, concerning Poppæa, the wife of Nero, supposes it was the common ancient custom to fill the body with drugs, and not merely apply them externally, *Corpus non igni abolitum, ut Romanus mos; sed* Regum exterorum consuetudine DIFFERTUM odoribus *conditur. i. e.* "Her body was not consumed by fire according to the Roman manner, but was buried, after having been stuffed with odors, after the way of foreign princes;" not merely of the Egyptians, but of those that practised burying in general, it seems.

* Page 22. † Page 142.

It does not however follow from hence, that our LORD was embowelled, though St. John says, he was buried with spices, as the manner of the Jews was to bury ;* for these words do not necessarily signify, that all was done that was wont to be done in those cases among the Jews. The contrary appears to be the *fact* from the farther preparations the women made, who were not, I imagine, unacquainted with what had been done, though Dr. Ward supposes the contrary ; since St. Luke expressly tells us, that the *women, which came with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the sepulchre, and* how *his body was laid.*†

If indeed this be admitted, the Doctor's thought concerning the difficulty of taking off the bandages, besmeared with very glutinous drugs, will appear to be ill founded, for in that case the women could have done nothing more as to the embalming him. That thought indeed seems to have made all the impression on the Doctor's mind, that the force of novelty, it might be expected, should give it ; but aloes and myrrh do not appear to have that very glutinous quality the Doctor supposed, so a much more obvious account may be given of St. John's making mention of a circumstance about which the other Evangelists are silent. He appears to have published his history for the use of persons less acquainted with the customs of the East, than those for whose information the others immediately wrote. The Doctor himself has remarked, in the 32d Dissertation, that in giving an account of the circumstances of the death of our LORD, St. John has reckoned the hours after the manner of the Romans, whereas the other Evangelists speak according to the Jewish method of computation; the same reason that induced him to do that, naturally led him to say to those who were wont to burn their dead, that our LORD was buried with spices, which was in general the Jewish method of disposing of their dead, which he might very

* John xix. 40. † Luke xxiii. 55.

well do, though the straightness of the time did occasion some deviation from what they commonly practised.

The shortness of time, we may believe, prevented them also from swathing him with that accuracy and length of bandage they would otherwise have used: the Egyptians, we are told, have used above a thousand ells of filletting about a body, besides what was wrapped about the head. Thevenot found it so, he informs us,* in a mummy which he examined. The Jews, it is reasonable to believe, swathed them in something of the same form, which could not have been nicely performed in such a hurry as the disciples were then in, though not exactly after the Egyptian manner: for the head not only of our LORD, but of Lazarus, was simply bound about with a napkin;† which Chardin tells us, in his MS. is used by the Mohammedans at this very time.

And as the Jewish manner of covering the head of a corpse, more resembled the present Eastern managements than the ancient Egyptian, perhaps the rest of their grave clothes did so too. They now, Dr. Perry‡ tells us, wrap up the body in two, three, or more different sorts of stuff, according to the circumstances of the deceased: if the Jews did so too, the spices those good women prepared, might be designed to be placed between the outer and inner wrappers; the ointment for the head ||

What Joseph and Nicodemus did with the mixture of myrrh and aloes, does not appear. Dr. Lardner supposes they might form a bed of spices.§ But with respect to the quantity, which he tells us, from Bishop Kidder, a modern Jew has made an objection against the history of the New Testament, affirming that it was enough for two hundred dead bodies, which is saying, in other words, that half a pound of these drugs is sufficient to embalm a

* Part 1, p. 137. † John xi. 44. ‡ P. 247.

|| Matt. xxvi. 7, 12, intimates, that the anointing the head with ointment. was one thing attending a Jewish burial.

§ Cred. of the Gosp. Hist. book 1, chap. 7. § 17.

single body, I would observe, that our English surgeons require a much larger quantity of drugs for embalming; and in a receipt which I have seen, of a very eminent one, the weight of the drugs employed is above one third of the weight Nicodemus brought. Much less indeed would be wanted where the body is not embowelled, but even the cerate, or drugs used externally in our embalmings, is one seventh of the weight, I find, of the myrrh and aloes that were brought for embalming our LORD. However, be this as it may, as it appears from what Josephus says of the funeral of Aristobulus, the last of the High priests of the family of the Maccabees, that the larger the quantity of the spices used in their interments, the greater honor was thought to be done to the dead;* we may easily account for the quantity Nicodemus brought in general, though we may not be able to tell, with the precision that could be wished, how it was disposed of. Dr. Lardner has not, I think, mentioned this passage; but it entirely answers the objection of this Jew.

A passage from Drummond's Travels ought not to be omitted here, in which he gives an account of the manner in which a large quantity of spices and perfumes was made use of, to do honor to the dead. It seems, according to a tradition that prevailed among the Turks, "An eminent prophet, who lived in Mesopotamia many ages ago, whose name was Zechariah, was beheaded by the prince of that country, on account of his virtuous opposition to some lewd scheme of his. His head he ordered to be put into a stone urn, two feet square, upon the top of which was an inscription, importing, that that urn enclosed the head of that great prophet Zechariah. This urn remained in the castle of Aleppo, till about eight hundred years ago, when it was removed into an old christian church in that city, afterward turned into a mosque, which decaying, another was built near it, and the place where the head

* Antiq. lib. 15, p. 746, Ed. Havere.

was deposited choaked up by a wall. About forty years before Mr. Drummond wrote this account, which was in December, 1748, consequently about the year 1708, a zealous grand Vizier, who pretended to have been admonished in a dream to remove this stone vessel into a more conspicuous place, had it removed accordingly, with many religious ceremonies, and affixed in a conspicuous part of a mosque: and in the close of all it is said, "the urn was opened, and filled with spices and perfumes to the value of four hundred pounds."*

Here we see in late times honor was done to the supposed head of an eminent saint, by filling its repository with odoriferous substances. The bed of sweet spices in which Asa was laid,† seems to have been of the same kind, or something very much like it. Might not large quantities of precious perfumes in like manner be strewed, or designed to be strewed, about the body of our LORD? This would require large quantities.

Zechariah of Mesopotamia had been dead so long, that nothing of this kind could be done with any view to preserve his head from decay, it was merely to do him honor: the spices used by the Jews in burial might be for the same purpose.

OBSERVATION XXI.

BURNING PERFUMES AT THE GRAVES OF THE DEAD, DESIGNED TO DO THEM HONOR.

THE ancient Jews, we are told in the Scriptures,‡ were wont to make great burnings for their princes: but whether this was when they carried them in procession to the grave; or from time to time afterward, when they visited their tombs with solemn mourning; or in any other

* P. 237, 238. † 2 Chron. xvi. 14.

‡ Ib. and chap. xxi. 19, Jer. xxxiv. 5.

manner different from either of those two ; cannot be determined, I believe, by the Scriptures themselves : but it may not be improper to set down here, an account that is given of the manner in which the modern Jews are wont to honor the graves of those they reverence, and which is not commonly known, or at least attended to.

When De la Vallé visited the Holy Land, his curiosity carried him to Hebron, which is not often now, I think, visited by Christians : but it is a noted place for Mohammedan pilgrimages.* He informs us,† that the cave of Machpelah, in which Abraham and the other patriarchs, with their wives, were deposited, is now covered with a considerable building, which was once a Christian church, but turned into a mosque. Adjoining to this is a house, in which Abraham is supposed to have dwelt, when he resided at Hebron, the *Ciceronis* of the Holy Land, forgetting *that by faith he sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise.* Heb. xi. 9.

Neither into the cave, nor this mosque built over it, nor this adjoining house of Abraham, it seems are either Jews or Christians permitted to enter ; the nearest access with which they are indulged is, according to him, certain holes, made in the wall leading to this very sacred repository. "There, we Christians," he says, "said our prayers in the best manner we were able. The Jews also attended with great assiduity, and poured out their divers odoriferous things ; they burnt perfumes there, some sweet scented kinds of wood, and wax candles."

Here we see the modern Jews honoring a sepulchre, for which they have a great veneration, with lighting at it wax candles. They then, perhaps, garnished the tombs of the righteous,‡ in ancient times, in the same

* D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, art. Khalil and Hagge.

† Tome ii. p. 99.

‡ Matth. xxiii. 29.

manner. And as they now burn perfumes here, they might possibly after the same manner honor the graves of those they reverenced, both kings and prophets, as well as moisten them with odoriferous substances of a liquid nature.

And as they now burn these perfumes at some distance from the cave in which the bones of Abraham are supposed to remain, they might, in somewhat the like manner, make a large pile of sweet scented wood, at some distance from the mouth of the subterraneous repository for their royal dead, which they had curiously scooped out of the rock. At Hebron they are forced to burn their perfumes at some distance, which they think, however, answers the purpose; they might do the like anciently for the sake of convenience.

After all I must remark, that we have no account of that kind of burning used for kings at their death, as used for any other persons: neither for priests, or prophets. Nor is the Hebrew word the same with that used for burning incense;* but derived from that which expresses the burning the bodies of Saul and his sons, after they had hanged some time, on the wall of Bethshan, the nature or design of which seems to be doubtful; since after they had undergone the disagreeableness of conveying the corrupting bodies so many miles from Bethshan to Jabesh-Gilead, the place designed for their interment, it could not *then* be necessary to burn the flesh from the bones, on account of the ill scent they might by that time have contracted. The mere laying those corrupted bodies in the grave could be nothing, compared with the carrying them along so many miles. It might be to honour them;

* The original, in 2 Chronicles xvi. 14, stands thus: לו שרפה גדולה וישרפו *vayisruphu lo serephah gedolah* And they burned a great burning for him. שרף *saraph* therefore is the verb which is used to designate this kind of funeral burning; but קטר *katar* is the term that is used to express *sacrificial burnings* of incense offerings, &c. EDIT.

it might be to prevent any attempt of the Philistines to hang them up a second time.

Answerable to this account of honoring the grave of Abraham, with burning perfumes in or near it, I know a gentleman of great ingenuity and learning, who is disposed to believe, the odors the women carried to the sepulchre of our LORD,* were designed to perfume that sepulchral cave by burning them there, which would be doing it honor: but it is to be remembered that the intention of them which the Evangelist gives an account of, was for the *anointing* him. To which may be added, that St. Luke expressly calls the things they prepared, spices and ointments,† or spices made into ointments.

But still it may be inquired in what sense they proposed to anoint him: whether they meant to anoint the whole body: or only a part of it; or merely the linen vestment in which it was wrapped.

The first cannot be admitted, as it is not agreeable to the rules of Eastern decency for women to perform the office of purifying by washing, and consequently of anointing the body of one of the other sex. The rules now observed in Persia, with regard to what is done for the dead, of which Sir John Chardin has given an account at large,‡ demonstrate this. Which is confirmed by the observation, that these good women were in no wise concerned in the preparing the body of our LORD for interment; that appears to have been entirely in the hands of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, with their attendants. The women were unconcerned.

As to the second, the anointing a part of the body, the head or the feet, it could be of little or no consequence, when he was wrapped up in such a large quantity of spices, or at least laid in a bed of them, according to the Jewish mode of burial.

* Mark xvi. 1. † Ch. xxiii. 56.

‡ Tome 2, p. 367 See also Dean Addison's account of the Jews of Barbary, p. 219, 220, who observe the same rules of decency.

The same may be said of the anointing the corpse as it lay wrapped up; in which case it would not have been, rigidly speaking, the anointing of him, but of his winding sheet. This however might be admitted, as to the sense of the words, which oftentimes are to be understood with considerable degrees of latitude. So we find, in some particular cases, when none of the same sex were to be had, a relation of the other sex, if pretty near to the deceased, may be permitted, according to the Persian rules, to administer purification to a corpse, provided it be closely covered up, so as no part of the flesh be touched. In that case it is the enveloping linen, strictly speaking, to which the purifying water is applied, and which is rubbed with the hand, yet still the dead body is considered as purified.* The anointing then the winding sheet of our LORD might have been called anointing him; but this would have been to very little purpose, when he was buried in such a quantity of myrrh and aloes.

And if the anointing the linen cloth in which he was wrapped might be called the anointing him, the anointing his sepulchre might, in like manner, be called anointing him, as it was anointing the place in which he was laid.

And when we consider this was an ancient practice, and particularly performed by the women, in their mourning for the dead from time to time, it may probably be what was meant by St. Mark.

It is certain the Greeks of those times, with whom the Jews then had considerable connexions, anointed the grave stones of the dead; and it seems those that live further East than Judea still practice it. The good women of Judea, the intermediate country, may naturally be supposed not to have neglected this testimony of regard.

So Archbishop Potter, in his Antiquities of Greece, has shown, by apposite quotations, not only from poets,

* Chardin in the same page.

but historians, that the ancient Greeks were wont to anoint the monuments of the dead with fragrant oils, or ointments, as well as to lay sweet smelling flowers upon them; and though I do not remember to have remarked the continuance of the custom, as to anointing tombs in those countries the Greeks formerly inhabited, yet it seems it is not lost in the East.

For Inatulla, an Indian writer represents this custom as existing in the East still :* and though his Tales are of a romantic kind, they appear to be founded on the real practice of those places, and the genuine occurrences of human life there. "Immediately she fainted away; and when she recovered her senses again, she found herself seated upon a tomb stone.

"The sad reflection immediately recurred, that she had lost her beloved father; so drowning his lamp† with her tears, she sat in the shades of horror, conscious that her undutiful conduct had brought a virtuous parent to an untimely end.

"In a short time, she beheld her mother, with a weeping train in the robes of mourning, carrying jars of *perfumed oil*, and baskets of *flowers* to strew the tomb; so joining their tears in one stream of affliction, she related her tale in the ears of astonishment, &c."

Here we see the modern Indian joins *perfumed oil* with *flowers*, in his description of the rites of bewailing the dead, as did the ancient Greeks.

As to the Greeks, Potter gives us Cowley's translation of some verses of Anacreon in proof of this point :

> "Why do we *precious ointments* show'r,
> Nobler wines why do we pour,
> Beauteous *flowers* why do we spread
> Upon the mon'ments of the dead ?

* Tales, vol. ii. p. 101, 102.

† The translator remarks, in a note, that the "Mohammedans burn lamps to the dead." As a civil honor paid them, I presume he means, not idolatrously.

Nothing they but dust can show,
Or bones that hasten to be so;
Crown *me* with roses while I live."

To which he adds, from Plutarch, that Alexander arriving at Troy, honored the memories of the heroes buried there with solemn libations, and that he anointed Achilles' grave stone.*

In like manner these female disciples of our LORD might propose to begin those visits to the sepulchre of our LORD, which they designed to continue from time to time, by *anointing the niche* in which he lay with fragrant ointments, which, probably, they could better apply than flowers; and which are often mingled with them, when flowers could be, and were, in fact, used.

OBSERVATION XXII.

A VERY CURIOUS METHOD OF HONORING DECEASED PRINCES IN PERSIA.

SIR John Chardin, in his MS.† gives us an account of a very whimsical honor paid the Persian princes after their deaths, the *driving their physicians and astrologers from court.* This he supposes to be of great antiquity, and to have been the cause of Daniel's absence, when Belshazzar saw the hand, writing his doom on the wall, which writing no body that was then with *him* could explain.

Daniel was not, it is certain, only occasionally absent from this solemnity, which was managed in a manner affronting to the GOD of Israel;‡ for it appears from v. 13, that he was not at all personally known to Belshazzar. This has been supposed to have been owing to his having been a vicious and a weak prince; Chardin supposes, on the other hand, that the ceremonial of the Persian court

* Vol. 2, book 4, ch. 8. † Note on Dan. v. 11. ‡ V. 2—4.

required it. The first reason hardly accounts for his absence, since weak and vicious as he might be, Nitocris his mother, who appears to have been no stranger to the great abilities of Daniel, who is said to have been a lady of great wisdom, and who is believed to have had the chief management of affairs, might have employed Daniel in matters of state, which in all probability, considering his eminence, would have made him known to the king: he did not, however, know him; she did not therefore employ Daniel: but whether for the reason assigned by Sir John, is another consideration.

If that really were the reason, Daniel's retirement from the management of the affairs of state, must have been of long continuance, twenty three years, according to Dr. Prideaux, for it must have commenced at the death of Nebuchadnezzar.

Be this as it may, it is so extraordinary an usage, that it deserves a place in these papers. "I collect from hence, says Sir John, that is, from the queen mother's recommending to Belshazzar to consult Daniel, that Daniel had been *mazouled** at the death of the king: for in the East, when the king dies, the physicians and astrologers are displaced; the first for not having driven death away, and the other for not having predicted it. This the 13th verse confirms."

Curious etiquette this! Upon this principle Daniel deserved to be reinstated in his office, since he now predicted the death of Belshazzar. However, whatever was the ground of their procedure, Belshazzar made him the third ruler in the kingdom, Dan. v. 29; and under Darius the Mede, the Prophet made a distinguished figure at court, Dan. vi. 1—3.

* An Eastern term signifying *displaced,* used by Dr. Perry, in his View of the Levant, p 41, &c Sir J. Chardin's words are: Je receuille de la que Daniel avait esté mazoul á la mort du roy, car en orient, quand le roy meurt, les medecins & les astrologues sont chassez les uns pour n'avoir chassé la mort, les autres pour ne 'l'avoir preditte. C'est ce que le v. 13, confirme. Tu es Daniel? &c.

According to this, the life of Daniel was extremely variegated: a large part of it spent in conducting affairs of state: a considerable portion of it in a devout retirement, in reading, meditation, and prayer. He practised these things when involved in the hurry of public business;* certainly therefore when disengaged from affairs of state.

OBSERVATION XXIII.

PARTICULAR KINDS OF FOOD USED BY MOURNERS.

St. Jerom affirms, that the Jews of his time, in mourning their dead, wept, rolled themselves in ashes, having their feet bare, and laid in sackcloth: to which he adds, that, according to the vain rites of the Pharisees, lentiles were the first things of which they eat in their mourning.† He gives us an explanation of this usage, which certainly was never derived from the Jews, but from his own lively fancy, which furnished him with an inexhaustible store of interpretations of the mystic kind, namely, that this custom marked out their loss of the birthright.‡

Dean Addison has mentioned nothing of their eating lentiles, in Barbary, after the interment of their dead, or any other fixed and stated kind of food; but he says, in some places, "the mourners use to eat eggs, out of no less emblem, than that death is voluble as an egg, and to day takes one, and another tomorrow, and so will come round upon all."|| But perhaps a more probable reason may be assigned for this usage.§

* Dan. ix. 2, 3.

† Ep. ad Paulam, super obitu Blesillæ filiæ, tome 1, p. 159.

‡ Gen. xxv. 34. || Ch xxvi. p. 224.

§ Namely, the hope of the resurrection: on which account, it is said, the Oriental Christians make presents to each other of eggs at Easter, richly adorned with painting and gilding.

The eating lentiles on these occasions, by the Jews of the age of St. Jerom, was merely, I should imagine, to express affliction, and even not only inattention to, but a disgust against, the delicacies of life. So in the account of the life of Hilarion, a celebrated hermit of that time, that austere recluse is said for three years to have eaten nothing but half a sextary* of lentiles, moistened with cold water; and for other three years only dry bread with salt, and some water. This then shows the eating of lentiles was thought to be very poor living, though much eaten in those countries; and sometimes sent to soldiers attending their prince.†

It shows also, in a very strong point of light, the profaneness of Esau, who despised his birthright to such a degree, as to part with it for a mess of lentile pottage.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

OF THEIR TOMBS IN THE EAST, AND THEIR ORNAMENTS.

WINDUS,‡ speaking of the reverencing idiots as saints among the Mohammedans, their kissing their garments, and giving them every thing but money, which they are not to take, adds, "And after their death, some great man hears of their fame, and makes it an act of devotion to beautify their tombs; or if they had none, to build one over the grave, wherein they are laid."

He had a little before observed, that their tombs are generally cupolas built with an entrance as wide as the building; and that "they are of several forms, some are low pyramids, others square, and the body put in the middle. But there is no rule, for Alcayde Ally Ben Abdallah's is a great square of thirty feet at least."‖

* About a pint.

† 2 Sam. xvii. 28.

‡ In his journey to Mequinez, p. 55.

‖ Page 53, 54.

These passages naturally lead us to recollect the words of our LORD, Matt. xxiii. 29, 30. *Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye build the tombs of the Prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets;* and also to make some observations on the matters there mentioned.

I would take notice, in the first place, of the numerousness of these Mohammedan sacred sepulchres. This writer having occasion to mention Sidi Cassem, in the road from Tetuan to Mequinez, tells us, "The town takes its name from a saint, who has a monument in it, to which the Moors with great superstition resort to say their prayers;" to which he adds, "a great many more saints are buried in the road to Mequinez, having little monuments over them, which the Moors will seldom pass without praying at."*

He had a little before, in the plate he has given us of Alcassar, p. 78, marked distinctly the monument of a saint much resorted to; as a little after his account of Sidi Cassem, he mentions a plain called Muley Idris, from a saint who has a monument hard by, which it seems is treated with such veneration, that the travellers to Mequinez go considerably out of their way to pray at it; to which he adds, that the emperor himself often pays his devotions there.

Since the same principle, which has produced such numerous effects in late times in Barbary, is intimated by our LORD, to have operated with great vigour among the Jews of his time, I cannot but imagine there were then many more of these sepulchres, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem,† than now appear. Travellers are shown a

* Page 82, 83.

† Since *there*, according to Luke xiii. 33, most of those of whose tombs our LORD is speaking lost their lives: *It cannot be that a Prophet perish out of Jerusalem;* of course there we naturally expect to find their sepulchres.

handsome structure, which is supposed to be the tomb of Zacharias, *slain between the temple and the altar;** besides which there is only one more sepulchral structure above ground, I think, relating to those of the old Testament,† which is called the sepulchre of Absalom, against which both Jews and Mohammedans are said to throw stones, to express their detestation of him, of which there is a considerable heap.

Supposing this to be a mistake, as it cannot be imagined to be the tomb Absalom built for himself in his life time; and it can hardly be believed to have been raised in honor of him in any succeeding age; yet still this would make but two tombs of ancient Jewish righteous men, suffering for truth and virtue, if instead of being a memorial of an unnatural son, it should be understood to be the resting place of a Prophet, or martyred saint, whereas this same principle has made Mohammedan structures of this kind very numerous.

Numerous, however, as these Mohammedan structures are, all their saints have not received this honor, for this writer tells us, that "those whom they reverence as saints are led about, the people kissing their garments, &c. and after their death, some great man hears of their fame, and makes it an act of devotion to beautify their tombs; or, if they had none, to build one over their grave, wherein they are laid."‡ Every one then of these saints has not a tomb immediately erected over him, though his sanctity was acknowledged and honored in life; it is not then to be wondered at, that it was some time before the persecuted and murdered Jewish Prophets had tombs raised over them, and that some of them might not have been erected till the time, or very near the time of our LORD.

* Matt xxiii. 35.

† Rachel's sepulchre seems to be too far off to come into the account, not to say that she died not a death of violence. ‡ Page 55.

To the observations relating to the numerousness of the tombs of the Mohammedan saints, and the erecting them from time to time to the honor of such as had been at first neglected, I would add a third, respecting the garnishing those that had been before built.

This possibly may be understood of the *whitening* them, which is commonly done in Barbary,* and of which practice our LORD makes mention Matt. xxiii. 27 : but as this among the Jews seems to have been universal, all tombs being *whitened*, in order to give warning to people not to approach too nigh, lest they should, according to the Jewish ritual, be defiled ;† the word *garnishing* seems to mean some different way of beautifying. The Mohammedan sepulchres of their saints are at least not only whitened, but otherwise adorned. It is to be considered, whether the Jewish way of garnishing them was the same.

Among the Mohammedans, the tombs of their saints are adorned with lamps. Pitts says, it is a mistake in those who have affirmed that there are no less than three thousand lamps about the tomb of Mohammed, their great saint and lawgiver; but he acknowledges it is decked with some lamps, though he believed hardly an hundred in number.‡ And elsewhere supposes that lamps, or wax candles, were used to garnish the tombs of their less celebrated saints, for he tells us, that the Algerines, when in the Straight's mouth, are wont "to make a gathering of small wax candles, which they usually carry with them, and bind them in a bundle ; and then, together with a pot of oil, throw them overboard, as a present to the marabbot, or saint, which lies entombed there on the Barbary shore, near the sea, and hath so done for many scores of years, as they are taught to believe ; not in the least doubting, but the present will come safe to the marabbot's hands." p. 17.‖ The tomb assuredly was never

* Shaw's Trav. p. 219, 220. † Numb. xix. 16. ‡ Page 156.

‖ He mentions his observing the like done in the Red Sea, in honor of another marabbot interred on the shore there, p. 114.

illuminated by these candles nor this oil, but the practice shows in what manner they would wish to garnish the tombs of their righteous men. This is confirmed by what he says in the next page, where he informs us, that in time of distress and danger, "they collect money, and wrap it in a piece of linen cloth, and make it fast to the ancient staff of the ship, so dedicating it to some marabbot; and there it abides until the arrival of the ship, when they bestow it in candles, or oil to give light, or in some ornament, to beautify the marabbot's sepulchre. For these marabbots have generally a little neat room built over their graves, resembling in figure their mosques or churches, which is very nicely cleansed, and well looked after," &c.

So Mr. Maundrell tells us, that at Damascus he was shown an old tomb, said to be Ananias's, but how he came to be buried there his guide could not tell, nor he guess: "however, the Turks have a reverence for his tomb, and maintain a lamp always burning over it."*

Pitts, in some of the preceding citations, supposes the money that was collected in times of danger, and dedicated to some marabbot, which was frequently laid out in candles or oil to illuminate the sepulchre of the marabbot, was sometimes bestowed in the purchase of some other ornament, but mentions no particulars. Other writers give us however an account of several.

A carpet, more or less valuable, is wont to cover the tomb itself, over which the sepulchral building, or vaulted chapel, is erected. This tomb is made like a great chest, or one of our altar tombs, to which carpet is sometimes annexed other ornaments. So Maundrell, speaking of a mosque on the coast of Syria, built by one Sultan Ibrahim, in which he is deposited, tells us, "We were admitted to see his tomb, though held by the Turks in great veneration. We found it only a great wooden chest, erected over his grave, and covered with a carpet of

* Page 13.

painted calico, extending on all sides down to the ground. It was also tricked up with a great many long ropes of wooden beads hanging upon it, and somewhat resembling the furniture of a button maker's shop. This is the Turks' usual way of adorning the tombs of their holy men, as I have seen in several other instances. The long strings of beads passing in this country for marks of great devotion and gravity."*

Several of their sacred tombs have much more valuable ornaments than these; the several large incense pots, candlesticks for altars, and other church furniture, being the spoils of Christian churches at the taking of Cyprus, which Maundrell saw in the mosque where Sultan Ibrahim lies,† were I suppose, devout donations to the tomb, not to the mosque.

So Chardin, describing the tomb of a Persian female saint, gives an account of several vessels of silver that hang over it, of considerable weight, called *candils*, in form somewhat resembling lamps, but not used to give light, or indeed capable of holding any oil, besides the tomb's being enclosed with a grate of massive silver, ten feet high, and crowned at the corners with four large balls of solid gold.‡ Other instances might be produced of great riches lodged in the sepulchres of the Eastern saints, reverenced by the disciples of Mohammed.

It seems then by no means natural to suppose, the *garnishing the tombs of the righteous* means only the white washing them; but it may be difficult precisely to say to what ornaments our Lord refers. Great riches, it is said by Josephus, were lodged in the tomb of David; and Benjamin the Jew, in his Itinerary, speaks of a lamp's burning in the cave of Machpelah, which he visited with devotion, and speaks of casks of dry bones of many of

* Shaw in like manner speaks of the tombs of the marabbots as adorned with beads, ribands, and such trinkets, p. 8, note.

† Page 14. ‡ Tome 1, p. 204.

the Jews as lodged there, but says not at whose expense the lamp was lighted up.*

Dr. Shaw has given an account of the form of the Eastern sepulchres, but he has mentioned no other way of garnishing them, but the white washing them, and strewing them with herbs and flowers. I thought these additional remarks might not be wholly unacceptable.

OBSERVATION XXV.

SONGS AND MUSIC USED DAILY AT GRAVES, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE DEAD.

AMONG other methods of doing honor to those that have been long dead, in the East, is the using music and songs daily at their graves; and some footsteps of this practice may be remarked in the Old Testament, though with less frequency.

Sir John Chardin found at Ujod, a village in the south of Persia, a small mosque, in which was the tomb of the brother of one of their kings; over the entrance of the mosque there was, he tells us, a gallery, in which, every morning and evening, they played on the flute and tymbals, in honor of the prince who was buried there, and, it seems, with a view of pointing out the nobleness of his extraction.†

This seems to be *stated* music; d'Herbelot has given an instance of singing and music, in honor of the dead, which appears to have been *occasional*. Babur, a prince

* Page 85, 86. He does not; and if he did, who would believe him? Is not his whole Itinerary an arrant forgery, made on purpose to support the spirits of his wretched countrymen, and to persuade them, *that the sceptre had not yet departed from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet*; for he pretends he found the Jews in *great power* in different parts of the East; and that therefore the time for the coming of the Messiah is *not yet*. EDIT.

† Tome ii. p. 96, 97.

descended from the celebrated Tamerlane, fell into a dangerous illness, from which he recovered very slowly The better to re-establish his health, he resolved, for the sake of change of air to remove from Herat to a city called Tous, where it seems was the sepulchre of a great Persian saint, called the Iman Riza, which circumstance occasioned this city's being named Meschad Mocaddes, which signifies the Holy Sepulchre. To this sepulchre he made presents worthy of so great a prince. He accompanied this liberality with exemplary piety and devotion, abstaining from wine, and passing whole days in the mosque and sacred gardens belonging to it, which mosque had been built in honor of this Iman, whose praises he caused his musicians to sing.*

The word that is used to express the *honor* annually done to the daughter of Jephthah, seems to insinuate that they honored her grave with music and songs, four days every year. Our translation, as well as that of the Septuagint, supposes the word signifies their *lamenting* her, which is without doubt the general thought; but what was the mode of their lamenting? by *talking with her*, say our translators in the margin, which supposes her life; but most probably by music and songs at her grave, as Persian saints of later times have been honored.

The word in the original לתנות *letannoth*, certainly signifies *to reward*, and it appears to be used, in another passage of the book of Judges, to reward by celebrating with music and songs: Judges v. 11. *They are delivered from the noise of archers in the places of drawing water; there* (תנו yetannu) *shall they rehearse the righteous acts of the* LORD, *even the righteous acts toward the inhabitants of his villages in Israel: then shall the people of the* LORD *go down to the gates.*

The blessing of the LORD in the 9th verse, and the speaking of travellers on horseback and on foot, perfectly

* Biblioth. Orient. art. Babur, or Barbor, p. 163.

agree with the notion of their rehearsing, or rewarding the righteous acts of the LORD with music and songs. I have also elsewhere shown, that the Orientals are wont to choose the neighbourhood of water for their parties of pleasure, which are often very musical.*

The using then this word by the writer of the book of Judges, in the case of Jephthah's daughter, who evidently appears to use it in the sense of music and songs in another passage of that book, may be considered as a trace, faint if you will, of that custom's obtaining among the Jews which has since been observed, on some occasions in Persia. Josephus represents the death of Jephthah's daughter as very heroic, and also patriotic; such an annual solemnity at her grave then, by the virgins of Israel, was extremely natural, and deserved to be recorded: her dying childless, on account of the meeting her father with timbrels and dances, was naturally rewarded by annual music and songs at her tomb.†

OBSERVATION XXVI.

OF THE PLACES CHOSEN BY THE ANCIENT AND MODERN ARABS FOR THE INTERMENT OF THEIR DEAD.

A VERY ingenious writer, in his translation of the book of Job, has given this version of Job's description of the sepulchral distinctive honors paid to the Emirs, or Arab princes and leading warriors of the land of Uz, and its adjoining countries, in the close of the 21st chapter of that noble ancient Eastern poem:

* Outlines of a Comment. on Sol. Song, p. 198, note.

† Still this supposes that Jephthah's daughter was *sacrificed*; whereas she only appears to have been consecrated to GOD so as to live in a state of *celibacy*; which state among the ancient Jews, was deemed a state both of affliction and reproach. EDIT.

"With pomp he's carried to the grave: his name
There lives afresh, in monumental fame:
There he enjoys, *in some delicious vale*,
Turf ever green, and springs that never fail;
Preceded, followed, to his dusty bed,
By all the former, all the future dead."

And then gives this note* on the 33d vere: *The clods of the valley shall be sweet to him.* "The soft clods of the valley, made soft and tender by gentle showers, are sweet to him. Their sepulchral grots were frequently in vallies, cut in the bottom of rocky hills. Such a situation of a tomb, together with springs of water or moderate rains to keep the turf perpetually green, was accounted a happy sepulture among the Arabs, as being a means of preserving the remembrance of the deceased in honor." To make no remarks on the little agreement between green turf and grots in rocky hills together; and not to inquire how the verdure of a spot could have kept alive the remembrance of one buried hard by; I cannot but make this observation on the main point, the burying in vallies, that this seems rather to be a deduction from his supposed sense of the text, instead of an account taken from Arabian authors, or travellers into those countries, tending to illustrate these words of Job. A management which too often appears, even in eminent writers.

For I apprehend that in truth the Arabs, in elder and later times, rather chose to inter their dead in rising grounds than in vallies.

As to the modern Bedouin Arabs, we are told, in the account published by de la Roque of those of Mount Carmel, "that the frequent change of the place of their encampment, not admitting their having places set apart for their burial, they always choose a place somewhat elevated for that purpose, and at some distance from the camp. They make a grave there, into which they put the corpse, and cover it with earth, and a number of great stones, lest the wild beasts should get at the body."†

* Scot's Job, p. 169.

† Voy. dans la Palestine, ch. 23.

In like manner the ancient burial place between Suez and Mount Sinai, which Niebuhr visited, was found on the top of a high and steep mountain.* The noble sepulchres of the ancient Palmyrene Arabs, according to Mr. Wood's account, were in the hills in the neighbourhood of that magnificent city. And thus we find the burial place for people of honor and distinction at Bethel, in the time the ten tribes made a separate kingdom, was in the mount there ;† and the sepulchre of Shebna, a great man in the Jewish court, was in an elevated situation.‡ *Get thee unto this treasurer, even unto Shebna, which is over the house, and say, What hast thou here? and whom hast thou here, that thou hast hewed thee out a sepulchre here, as he that heweth him out a sepulchre on high, and that graveth an habitation for himself in a rock? Behold the* LORD *will carry thee away with a mighty captivity.*

From hence it is apparent, that if great men were sometimes buried in vallies, it was no part of the splendour of interment among the Arabs, who were wont rather to choose elevated places for the sepulture of princes, and people of high distinction. How then, it is natural to ask, came Job to speak of the clods of the valley, when describing magnificence of burial? I should suppose, in answer to this question, that Job is to be understood, not as intending to mark out the wonted places of their interment, but the manner of ornamenting their sepulchres; planting flowers and odoriferous herbs or shrubs, on or about their graves: Clods like those of a valley or torrent, verdant and flowery, shall surround him, and be pleasing to him, The liveliness of Eastern poetry here representing the dead, as having the same perceptions as if they were alive in their sepulchres: he shall watch in the heap, of earth or stones that cover him, for such, the margin of our translation tells us, is the more exact import of the

* Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 347.

† 2 Kings xxiii. 16, compared with 1 Kings xiii. 2. ‡ Isaiah xxii. 15—17.

Hebrew ; the clods around him, like those in some pleasant valley, or on the border of some torrent, shall be sweet unto him.

Thus when it is said, *The desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing : the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon : they shall see the glory of the* LORD, *and the excellency of our* GOD :* it is visible that a glory like that of Lebanon, an excellency like that of Carmel and Sharon, is the thing that is meant ; not that the trees of Lebanon were to be removed into the desert, and the verdure and flowers of the two other places. The clods of the valley are to be understood, I apprehend, after the same manner. Clods like those of the vallies where torrents run, which are verdant and flowery, shall be pleasing to him.

So Dr. Shaw has told us, that a great extent of ground being allotted without their cities, for the burial of their dead, " each family has a proper portion of it, walled in like a garden, where the bones of their ancestors have remained undisturbed for many generations . . In these enclosures the graves are all distinct and separate . . . . whilst the intermediate space is either planted with flowers ; bordered round with stone ; or paved with tiles."†

Mr. Blunt mentions an observation relating to this matter, which he made, and which I do not remember to have met with any where else ; it is given us in these words : " Those who bestow a marble stone over them, have it in the middle cut through about a yard long, and a foot broad ; therein they plant such kind of flowers as endure green all the year long ; which seem to grow out of the dead body, thinking thereby to reduce it again into play, though not in the scene of sensible creatures, yet of

* Isaiah xxxv. 1, 2. † Page 219.

those vegetables, which is the next degree, and perhaps a preferment beyond the dust.*

OBSERVATION XXVII.

BOUGHS, FLOWERS, &c. USED IN ORNAMENTING SEPULCHRES IN THE EAST.

As they sometimes plant herbs and flowers about the graves of the dead, so Dr. Addison observed, that the Jews of Barbary adorned the graves of their dead in a less lasting manner, with green boughs brought thither from time to time;† might not this practice originate from the doctrine of the resurrection? perhaps from that well known passage of a Prophet, *Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they rise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead.* Is. xxvi. 19; or if it was practised still earlier, might not this passage have reference to that custom?

It is admitted, that the practice obtained among those that entertain no expectation of a resurrection, but in the language of St. Paul sorrowed as people that had no such hope.‡ The ancient Greeks practised this decking the graves of their dead, but it might notwithstanding originate from that doctrine, and be adopted by those of a different belief, as having something in it softening the horrors of viewing their relatives immersed in the dust; and might be thought to be agreeable by those that entered into medical considerations, as correcting those ill scented and noxious exhalations that might arise in those burial places, to which their women, more especially, were frequently induced to go, to express their attachment to the departed.

* Voy. 197, reprinted in the Collect. of Voy. and Travels from the Library of the Earl of Oxford, vol. 1, p. 547.

† Pages 220, 221. ‡ 1 Thess. iv. 13.

Maillet supposes the modern Egyptians lay leaves and herbs on the graves of their friends, from a notion that this was a consolation to the dead, and believed to be refreshing to them from their SHADE.* This must indeed be admitted to be truly ridiculous; the supposing a body covered with many inches of earth should receive any benefit from the thin shade afforded by a few leaves, supposing the sense of feeling still continued, which superstition itself can hardly imagine.

But was this lively French gentlemen sure of the fact? I should hardly think it of the Mohammedan inhabitants of the East, who believe a resurrection. As their prayers for the dead, as well as those of the Jews, have a reference to the resurrection; why may not these vegetable ornaments of their sepulchres be understood to relate to that doctrine?

I leave at present, the examination of the opinions of the Greeks and Romans, as to the strewing leaves and flowers on the graves of those they lamented; but would, instead of that, inquire a little, whether there is any difference as to the plant made use of now in the East for this purpose, and, if there be, what those differences are. A speculation of some curiosity, and what must be amusing.

What the plants are that are used by the Barbary Jews, Dr. Addison has not told us. All that he says on that subject is this: "Inquiring after inscriptions or epitaphs, and though often in the burying place for that end, I could see none, nor any other state about the graves than green turf and boughs. But this remark respects the Jews in Barbary, whom I conceive to come far short of those of other countries, in this sort of funeral pomp." P. 220, 221.

* Cette verdure n'est pas au reste, comme on pourroit peut-etre le penser, q'une offrande faite aux morts. Le motif de cet usage est encore plus ridicule, puisque par-là on cherche à soulager les défunts, qu'on croit refraîchir, en leur procurant de l'ombrage. Let. 10, p. 91.

But, as it is a matter of some curiosity, and may be amusing to some minds, I would set down what I have met with in travellers, relating to this subject.

The women in Egypt, according to Maillet, go, "at least two days in the week, to pray and weep at the sepulchres of the dead; and the custom then is to throw upon the tombs a sort of herb which the Arabs call *rihan*, and which is our sweet basil. They cover them also with the leaves of the palm tree."* If they use any other plants for this purpose in Egypt, he has neglected to mention them.

Whether these precisely were the vegetables made use of by Augustus, when he viewed the remains of Alexander the Great in Egypt, Suetonius has not informed us, in the account he has given us of the honors paid by this Roman emperor to the remains of that celebrated Greek.† We may imagine they were not, if he wrote with perfect exactness, since he speaks of that emperor's strewing flowers on the coffin, and mentions nothing concerning herbs or leaves.

It is reasonable to believe, that other species of plants are made use of in Egypt to adorn the sepulchres of their friends; but not all indiscriminately, for, according to Hasselquist, the mitre shaped aloe, which grows in large quantities in the gardens of Cairo, is hung over the doors of those that have returned in safety, after having made a pilgrimage to Mecca,‡ and it is unreasonable to suppose this plant should be used, as a token of their escape from death in this dangerous journey, and at the same time laid upon the tombs of those that could not escape.

Myrtle, however, which has been frequently used on joyous occasions, is made use of by these Eastern people to adorn the tombs of the dead, for Dr. Chandler tells us, that in his travels in the Lesser Asia, he found some

* Let. 10, p. 91.

† In Vit. Aug. cap. 18. Corona aurea imposita ac *floribus* aspersis veneratus est.

‡ Page 114.

Turkish graves there, which had each a bough of myrtle stuck at the head and the feet.*

Rauwolff mentions the same circumstance, telling us, that at Aleppo there grow many myrtles, which they diligently propagate, because they are beautiful and remain long green, to put about their graves.†

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

WHITE WASHING SEPULCHRES IN USE IN THE EAST.

THE general meaning of a comparison used by our LORD is obvious, when he said, *Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness*, Matt. xxiii. 27; but it will appear with greater life, if we suppose, that the sepulchres about Jerusalem were just then white washed afresh, which I should suppose is extremely probable, as the present Eastern sepulchres are fresh done upon the approach of their Ramadan.

Such is the account of Niebuhr, in the first volume of his Travels.‡ Speaking there of Zebid, a city of Arabia, which had been the residence of a Mohammedan prince, and the most commercial city of all the country of that part of Arabia, but which had lost much of its ancient splendour in these respects, he adds, "that however, Zebid makes yet, at a distance, the most beautiful appearance of all the cities of the Tehama, or low country, which is owing to their clergy, who have found means, insensibly, to appropriate a very large part of the revenues of the city and adjoining country, to themselves and the mosques. From thence have arisen a multitude of mosques and kubbets, which at that time, when

* Page 200. † Page 65. ‡ Page 261.

Ramadan was near approaching,* had been almost all white washed. These kubbets are little buildings, built over the tombs of rich Mohammedans, who pass for saints."†

The Passover was at hand when our LORD made this comparison, as is evident from the context, and therefore, it is likely they were just then whited afresh, when the season for such rainy and bad weather as is wont to wash off these decorations was just over, and the time was at hand when Israel were about to assemble in Jerusalem at their national solemnities, which were all held in the dry part of the year, or nearly so: the rain being at least just over at the time of the Passover, by the time of Pentecost it was gone in Judea, and the Feast of Tabernacles was observed before the rain was wont to return.

But whatever was the time of white washing the Jewish sepulchres anew, we may believe it was often done; since to this day, the people of those countries have not discovered any way of so whitening these buildings as to make it durable.

OBSERVATION XXIX.

PROVISIONS PLACED NEAR TO, OR ON THE GRAVES OF DEPARTED RELATIVES.

THE custom of placing provisions on, or near the graves of those for whom they mourned, is not only very ancient, but practised by nations remote from each other, referred to in the Apocrypha, and, it may be, adopted by

* Which is a kind of Mohammedan Lent, followed by a festival, as Lent with us is followed by Easter.

† These kubbets are, I apprehend, not only built over the graves of them that pass for saints, but over the graves of other people who are wealthy, as, if I mistake not, Niebuhr himself observes in other places of this volume.

the Jews, of the time between the closing of the writings of the Old Testament, and the appearances of those of the New.

One of the first observations that Olearius made, on the customs of the ancient Russians, relates to this practice. He had the curiosity, he tells us,* to go on the 24th of May, 1634, the day before Whit-Sunday, to that part of Narva which was inhabited by Russians, to observe the anniversary ceremonies of that time, and their behaviour with regard to their departed relations and friends. "The whole burial place was full of Moscovite women, who had spread handkerchiefs upon the graves, embroidered at the corners with silk of various colours, upon which they had set dishes full of roast and fried fish, custards, cakes, and painted eggs. Some were standing, others kneeling, putting many questions to their relations, pouring out tears on their graves, and expressing their affliction by most lamentable cries; but with so little steadiness, that they lost no opportunity of speaking, and even laughing with such of their acquaintance as passed by. The priest, followed by two of his clerks, walked up and down the burial place, with a censer in his hand, into which he put from time to time little pieces of gum to cense the graves. The women gave him an account of the relations and friends they wanted him to pray for, pulling him by the surplice, in order to gain the advantage of being first. The priest performed these devotions in a very perfunctory manner, and paid so little attention to them, as hardly to deserve the piece of copper money they gave him, and by no means the provisions, which the clerks took care to gather together for their master's benefit."

It is well known that the ancient heathens practised something of this kind, from whence it was early introduced into the Christian church. St. Austin mentions

* Pages 11, 12, 13.

it, as well as the feasting at the graves of the martyrs, and seems to suppose these things were practised more in Africa, than in any other place in the world he was acquainted with, which had received the Gospel. There, it seems, the lower class of Christians thought these feasts and drinking bouts were not only honorable to the martyrs, but of advantage to the common and ordinary dead buried there.* He complains of these managements in other places, with great warmth and life,† and endeavoured to have them suppressed.‡ But I have not been fortunate enough to find any place in St. Austin, in which he supposes this was an ancient custom of the Phœnicians, derived from them to the people of Africa, and remaining to his time, which the celebrated expositor Grotius seems to insinuate, in his comment on Ecclus. xxx. 18.

It was certainly a Pagan custom; and it might, in particular, be practised by the Phœnicians, and carried from them into Africa, with their language, which undoubtedly was derived from thence. But this practice was of much greater extent among the Gentiles, and was brought among the Russians, it seems, from the Greeks, derived by them from their heathen fathers. That it was known in the East, appears to be highly probable, if there were no other evidence for it, than that passage of the book of Ecclesiasticus just now cited, which evidently alludes to it: *Delicates poured upon a mouth shut up*, by bad health and continual sickness, of which he had been speaking, *are as messes of meat set upon a grave.*||

* August. Aurelio, Ep. 64, tome 2, p. 203, 204, Ed. Bas. 1528.

† De Moribus Eccl. Cathol. lib 1. tome 1, p 538. Novi multos esse sepulchrorum et picturarum adoratores: novi multos esse, qui luxuriosissimè super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos seipsos sepeliant, et voracitates ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni.

‡ Ubi supra, tome 2, p. 204.

|| It is also plainly pointed at by the author of the book of Baruch, ch. vi. 27.——*They set gifts before* (idols) *them* as *unto dead men.*

Accordingly Sir John Chardin, in his manuscript note on this passage of Ecclesiasticus, observes, that it was the custom of all the Gentiles, and especially in China, to place food in great quantities upon the tombs of their relations; and that many of the Oriental Christians do the same thing.

But the great point I would inquire into here, is, whether the Jews, in the intermediate time, between the prophesying of Malachi and the apostolic age, in which time, I apprehend, it is commonly thought many of the apocryphal books were written, and this of Ecclesiasticus in particular, whether, I say, the Jews of that time, adopted this custom of placing food on, or near the graves of their dead, by way of alms, which they hoped might be beneficial to the souls of those whose bodies were deposited there.

These words of Ecclesiasticus certainly determine nothing upon this point; the son of Sirach might allude to it as a well known custom among the Gentiles, as well as if it had been practised at that time among those of his own nation; but it may not be improper to inquire, whether traces of it may not appear elsewhere. What, it may be asked, is the precise meaning of Tobit iv. 17? *Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just, but give nothing to the wicked.* Does this zealous old Jew direct his son, to send provisions to those families only of his nation that mourned the death of relations that were good people; or does he direct them to set food by way of alms, on, or by the grave of a good man from time to time, for the benefit of the departed soul?

Our translators understood it in the first sense; and it is certain something of that kind was practised among the ancient Jews, as it is now among some of the Eastern people; but it may be, at least, as well translated, *Pour out thy bread on the sepulchre of the just:* and if this translation is allowed to take place, it would prove that the Jews were supposed, by this writer, to show their respect

to the dead at that time, in the way the Russians of the last century did.

And to make this translation appear more probable, it may be observed, in the first place, that the ταφος, used in the Greek, in which this book is written, will not be found, I apprehend, to have been used of the *time* or *act* of interment, any where in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, or in any of the apocryphal books written in that language; but of the *place*. Lexicographers indeed tell us, it is used in such a sense as our translators have put upon it here; but it does not appear to have been used in such a sense by any of these Hellenistic writers.

Secondly. The Jews of that time seem to have imagined, that the actions of the living might be made profitable to the dead: at least the author of the second book of Maccabees appears to have thought so. For speaking of some of the Jewish nation who were slain in battle, under whose clothes were found things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites, which things were forbidden to the Jews, by their law, he goes on and tells us, that when Judas "had made a gathering throughout the company, to the sum of 2000 drachms of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin offering, doing therein very well, and honestly, in that he was mindful of the resurrection, for if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead; and also in that he perceived that there was great favour, laid up for those that died godly. It was an holy and good thought. Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin." 2 Macc. xii. 40.*

* This is the principal text on which the Papists found their doctrine of purgatory. Should the reader say, this is taken from the Apocrypha, and therefore of no authority: I say, true; but the Papists receive all the books of the Apocryphal as canonical Scripture. EDIT.

If the imagined sin offerings might be beneficial to the dead; they might as well believe, that the giving of alms might produce something of the same salutary effect.

Thirdly. We find, accordingly, that the Mohammedans, as well as the Christians of the East, of whom Sir John Chardin speaks in his manuscript note on Eccles. xxx. 17, have adopted this practice: for in his printed description of Persia, he says, "People of the middling and lower ranks of life begin to visit a sepulchre eight or ten days after the interment, and the women in particular never fail to do it. The burial places are always full of them, especially at some holy seasons, more especially in the evening or morning, having their children with them, both great and small. There they sit themselves to lament the dead, with cries and tears, beating their breasts, tearing their faces and their hair, intermingled with long recitals of their former conversations with the deceased; and the constant burthen of these lamentations is, *Rouh! rouh!* soul! spirit! whither art thou gone? wherefore dost thou not continue to animate this body? And then, *Body!* wherefore didst thou die? didst thou want gold or silver, garments, pleasures, the tender caresses of those near to thee? and such like impertinencies.* Their female friends comfort them, and then carry them away with them, leaving sometimes offerings of cakes, fruits, sweetmeats, which are, they say, for the guardian angels of the sepulchre, to render them favourable to the deceased."†

Authors that speak of the Eastern people's visiting the tombs of their relations, almost always attribute this to the women; but it seems by this passage, that the men visit

* The very same custom, and precisely the same expressions are used among the native *Irish* to the present day. Another proof to those in Mr. Ledwich, that Christianity was introduced into Ireland not by *Popish* Missionaries, but by Missionaries from the *East*. See also the Caoinan insert. ed p. 38. EDIT.

† Tome 2, p. 387.

them too, though not so frequently as the other sex, who are wont to be more susceptible of the tender emotions of grief than the men, and at the same time think propriety requires it of them; whereas the men commonly think such strong expressions of sorrow would not become them. Accordingly we find, that some male friends came from Jerusalem, to condole with Mary and Martha, on account of the death of their brother Lazarus; who, when they supposed that her rising up, and going out of the house, was with a view to repair to his grave to weep, *followed her, saying, She goeth unto the grave to weep there.* John xi. 31.

It is no wonder that they thought her rising up in haste was to go to the grave, to weep there, for Chardin informs us in the same page, that "the mourning there does not consist in wearing black clothes, which they call an *infernal dress*, but in great outcries, in sitting motionless, in being slightly dressed in a brown or pale habit, in refusing to take any nourishment for eight days running, as if they were determined to live no longer," &c. Her starting up then, with a sudden motion, who, it was expected, would have sat still, without stirring at all, and her going out of the house, made them to conclude it must be to go to the grave to weep there, though, according to the modern Persian ceremonial, it wanted five or six days of the usual time for going to weep at the grave: the Jews, possibly, might repair thither sooner than the Persians do; if not, they could not account for this sudden starting up any other way.

But to return from this digression. If the Jews in the East readily adopt other usages of Eastern mourning; if they deck the graves of their dead with green boughs, as has been taken notice of under a preceding Observation, it cannot be unnatural to suppose, they might adopt the custom too of leaving bread, or other eatables, in their burial places, in the time of Tobit, though it may now be seldom, if ever done: since, according to Char-

din, the modern Persians now practise it, however not often, but rather sparingly.

The Christians too of that country seem to practise something very much like it, if not altogether the same, according to Dr. Russell, who tells us,† "They are carried to the grave on an open bier; and besides, they have many appointed days, when the relations go to the sepulchre, and have mass said, and send victuals to the church and poor, many of the women go every day for the first year, and every great holiday afterward." This sending victuals to the church, seems to come very near the placing eatables upon the tombs of the dead; if the expression is not designed directly to convey that thought to the mind.

He does not say exactly the same thing of the Jews of Aleppo, but he tells us concerning them, that "they have certain days wherein they go to the sepulchres; and the women, like those of other sects, often go there to howl and cry over their dead relations."† How far the conformity of those other sects is carried, we are not told, but probably it is very considerable.

Lastly. Such an explanation seems to agree best with the restriction in Tobit's instruction to his son: *Pour out thy bread on the burial*, or tomb, *of the just; but give nothing to the wicked.* For the widows and fatherless children of the wicked might want to have food sent them by their charitable neighbours, when overwhelmed with affliction occasioned by the death of a wicked husband or parent, as well as others; but if this bread was considered as purging away sins, or recommending the departed soul to GOD, he might very well forbid his son's giving bread on that occasion, as it would be expressing a hope concerning the dead, that was not to be entertained. The best of men have their imperfections, and the giving of alms on their behalf might be supposed to purge away their guilt: but no alms, in his apprehension, would re-

* Vol. ii. p. 56. † Ib. p. 87.

move the guilt of an heathen, or an apostate from the law of Moses: to them no mercy, he might apprehend, could be expected to be shown.

St. Austin somewhere makes use of a like distinction, I think, in a case a good deal resembling what, I should suppose, it is not improbable Tobit had in view. I do by no means take upon me to justify the sentiment of this celebrated African bishop; I believe, on the contrary, it is by no means evangelical: the texts he cites from the writings of St. Paul, prove it to be wrong. *For we must all stand before the judgment-seat of* CHRIST; *that every one may receive the things done in the body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.* 2 Cor. v. 10. That HE hath done, not what others may do after his death, in order to benefit him. But as this was the best explanation of certain superstitious practices that obtained in his age, more especially among weaker, and less informed Christians, it is by no means an unreasonable supposition, that the same sentiment might arise in the mind of him who wrote the book of Tobit; arise from a similar practice, which seems to have obtained among the Jews of his time.

The pollution that was supposed to attend the touching of the dead, and also of their graves, according to the law of Moses,* may be thought to afford a strong objection to the supposing, they were wont to give such alms at the tombs of their friends, which I have been proposing as what, probably, was the meaning of Tobit; since this custom has been readily adopted not only by Christians, but Mohammedans too, who have the same apprehension of the impurity contracted by a dead body and a grave as the Jews had. So Chardin observes, in his description of Persia,† that they never bury in the mosques, because, though the dead bodies have been purified, they notwithstanding look upon them as rendering every thing they

* Numb. xix. 16—18. † Tome 2, p. 368.

touch impure, and the places in which they are deposited; yet, according to the next page, which I cited just now, they sometimes leave offerings of cakes, of fruits, and of sweetmeats, at the sepulchres of the dead.

The Jews then might do the same in the days of Tobit, notwithstanding their notion that the touching a grave renders persons and things impure; it is certain it does not prevent their women's going often thither, to howl and cry over their dead relations.

CHAP. VIII.

CONCERNING THE LITERATURE, BOOKS, &c. OF THE EASTERN NATIONS.

OBSERVATION I.

CURIOUS METHODS OF LEARNING TO WRITE, USED IN THE EAST.

THERE is a distinction made, in that passage of the book of Job which I was considering under an Observation of the preceding chapter, relating to the writing of words, and writing them in a book, that I never saw remarked, though it seems to me that a very clear account of it may be given.

*O that my words were now written! O that they were printed in a book! That they were graven . . . . in the rock for ever!** There is a way of writing in the East, which is designed to fix words on the memory, but the writing is not designed to continue. The children in Barbary that are sent to school make no use of paper, Dr. Shaw tells us,† but each boy writes on a smooth thin board, slightly daubed over with whiting, which may be wiped off, or renewed at pleasure;‡ and it seems they

* Job xix. 23, 24. † Page 194.

‡ Dr. Pococke represents the Coptis, who are used by the great men of Egypt for keeping their accounts, &c. as making use of a sort of pasteboard for that purpose, from which the writing is wiped off from time to time with a wet sponge, the pieces of pasteboard being used as slates. Vol. i. p. 191. Peter della Vallè observed a more inartificial way still of writing short lived memorandums in India, where he beheld children writing their lessons with their fingers on the ground, the pavement being for that pur-

learn to read, to write, and to get their lessons by heart, all at the same time: O that my words then, says Job, might not, like many of those of the miserable, be immediately lost, in inattention or forgetfulness, but that they were written in order to be fixed in the memory! There are few, Shaw says, that retain what they have learned in their youth; doubtless things were often wiped out of the memory of the Arabs in the days of Job, as well as out of their writing tables, as it now often happens in Barbary: Job therefore goes on, and says, *O that they were written in a book*, from whence they should not be blotted out! So in conformity to this, Moses speaks of writing things for a memorial in a book. But books were liable to injuries; therefore Jeremiah commanded that the book that contained the purchase he made of some lands in Judea, just before their captivity, should be put into an earthen vessel, that it might continue many days, Jer. xxxii. 12, 14: and for this reason also Job wishes his words might be even *graven in a rock*, the most lasting way of all, and much more effectual to perpetuate them than a book. Thus the distinction betwixt *writing, and writing in a book* becomes perfectly sensible, and the gradation appears in its beauty, which is lost in our translation, where the word *printed* is introduced, which, besides its impropriety, conveys no idea of the meaning of Job, records that are designed to last long not being distinguished from less durable papers by being printed.

pose strewed all over with very fine sand. When the pavement was full, they put the writings out: and, if need were, strewed new sand, from a little heap they had before them wherewith to write farther, p. 40. One would be tempted to think the Prophet Jeremiah had this way of writing in view, when he says of them that depart from GOD, *they shall be written in the earth*, ch. xvii. 13. Certainly it means in general, *soon be blotted out and forgotten*, as is apparent from Psalm lxix. 28, Ezek. xiii. 9. HARMER.

Dr. *Bell's* plan of teaching a number of pupils to read at the same time, was taken from what he saw practised in the East; and this is the plan which Mr. *Lancaster* has since greatly improved and extended. The plan of writing on *sand* is still in use in the East. EDIT.

OBSERVATION II.

OF THE FORM AND MATERIALS OF THEIR BOOKS.

As to the *form* of their books, and the *materials* of which they are composed, I have nothing considerable to offer. Some things however, relating to the last of these, should be taken notice of.

That their books were rolled up, instead of opening in the manner ours do,* in the time of our LORD, appears from some remains of antiquity ; that they were of the same form much more anciently, we learn from Jer. xxxvi. 2, Psalm xl. 7, &c. this circumstance has been often remarked, and for that reason I pass it over with barely mentioning it.†

The *materials* of which their books were composed, is that which is rather to be considered, and is what this Observation is designed a little to inquire into. The ancient Egyptian books were made of the papyrus, a sort of bulrush of that country, according to Dean Prideaux,‡ which rose up to a considerable height, and whose stalk was covered with several films, or inner skins, on which

* Sir J. Chardin, in a MS. note on Isai. viii. 1, tells us, "the Eastern people roll their papers, and do not fold them, because their paper is apt to fret." This observation may account for that inconvenient way, so long retained, of rolling up their writings. The Egyptian papyrus was much made use of ; the brittle nature of it made it proper to roll up what they wrote ; and it having been customary to roll up their books, &c. many continued the practice when they used other materials, which might very safely have been treated in a different manner.

† Many of the fine MSS. which have been discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum are in rolls ; so are also those which have been taken out of the ancient Egyptian Mummies ; but at present, books are seldom made to roll up in the East. Many indeed of the very fine Persian and Arabic MSS. are written upon a kind of thin pasteboard like paper ; and being jointed at the back and front, fold up like pattern cards. EDIT.

‡ Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, part i. book 7.

they wrote. Maillet gives a different account of the papyrus.* But be this as it will, we are told the use of the papyrus for these purposes was not found out, till the building of Alexandria :† the rolls then that are mentioned in the Prophet were not formed of this plant : for Alexander the Great, the founder of that city, lived after the prophetic times. The art of engraving on stones and metals was very ancient, as old at least as the days of Moses, as appears from Exod. xxviii. 11, 36 ; but these ancient books were not formed of tablets of stone, or plates of metal, since they were rolled up ; besides which, we find that the book which Baruch wrote, from the lips of Jeremiah, was cut in pieces by king Jehoiakim, with a penknife, and those pieces thrown into the fire which was burning on the hearth before him, Jer. xxxvi. 23, which liableness to being cut, and consumed in the fire, determines that they were neither of stone nor of metal.

Parchment, Dr. Prideaux shows in the same place in which he speaks of the papyrus, was a later invention than the Egyptian paper, and therefore one would imagine could not have been the material of which the old Jewish books were formed, which yet the Dean supposes, imagining that if Eumenes of Pergamus was the first among the Greeks that used parchment, he could not however have been the inventor of it, since the Jews long before had rolls of writing, and who, says he, can doubt, but that these rolls were of parchment ? He goes on, "and it must be acknowledged, that the authentic copy of the law, which Hilkiah found in the Temple, and sent to king Josiah, was of this material, none other used for writing, excepting parchment only, being of so durable a nature as to last from Moses' time till then, which was eight hundred and thirty years." But is this reasoning demonstrative ? The very old Egyptians used to write on linen, things which they designed should last long ; and those characters continue to this day, as we are as-

* Lett. 9, p. 19. † See Prid. Conn. in the before cited place.

sured by those that have examined mummies with attention. So Maillet tells us, that the filletting, or rather the bandage, for it was of a considerable breadth, of a mummy which was presented to him, and which he opened in the house of the Capuchin Monks in Cairo, was not only charged from one end to the other with hieroglyphical figures, but they also found certain unknown characters, written from the right hand toward the left, and forming a kind of verses. These he supposed contained the eulogium of the person whose this body was, written in the language which was used in Egypt in the time in which he lived. That some part of this writing was afterward copied by an engraver in France, and these papers sent to the Virtuosi through Europe, that if possible they might decypher them; but in vain.* Might not a copy of the Law of Moses, written after this manner, have lasted eight hundred and thirty years? Is it unnatural to imagine that Moses, who was learned in all the arts of Egypt, wrote after this manner on linen? And does not this supposition perfectly well agree with the accounts we have of the form of their books, their being rolls;† and of their being easily cut in pieces with a knife, and liable to be burnt? The old Jewish books might indeed be written on other materials; but these considerations are sufficient to engage us to think, that their being written on parchment, is not so indubitable as the Dean supposes.

The most considerable arguments that Prideaux makes use of, are quotations from Diodorus Siculus and Herodotus, which give an account of the writing on skins by the old Persians and Ionians, long before the time of Eumenes; yet as to this, it is surprising that he should so

* Lett. 7, p. 278. There is a piece of writing of this kind now in the British Museum, which was taken out of an Egyptian mummy, and a similar book was found in a mummy by Mr. Denon, an engraved *fac simile* of which may be found in his Travels. EDIT.

† The linen was first primed, or painted all over, before they began to write, and consequently would have been liable to crack if folded.

confidently suppose those skins must of course be dressed like parchment: it is visible that these skins must have been prepared in a much more clumsy way, and have been very unlike parchment, of which we are assured Eumenes was the inventor, and which, if found out before, would have made the want of the Egyptian paper no inconvenience to that prince. Such skins might do for records, and some occasional writings, but would have been by no means proper for books. Is it not then, upon the whole, most natural to suppose the ancient Jews wrote on linen as the Egyptians did?* If so, ink, paint, or something of that kind must have been made use of, of which, accordingly, we read Jeremiah xxxvi. 18. But their pens must have been very different from ours: accordingly the word שבט *shebet*, which is used Judges v. 15, for a pen, *they that handle the pen of the writer*, signifies a sceptre, rod, or branch of a tree, and consequently may be thought to have much more nearly resembled

* Among other objections Monsieur Voltaire has made to the Antiquity of the Pentateuch, in his Raison par Alphabet, seconde partie, Art. Moyse, of which some are amazingly absurd, one is, that these five volumes must have been engraven on polished stones, which would have required prodigious efforts and length of time; too great, the insinuation is, to be credible. "Les Egyptiens ne se servaient pas encore du papiros; on gravait des hieroglyphes sur le marbre ou sur le bois. Il est meme dit que les tables des commandemens furent gravées, sur la pierre. Il aurait donc fallu graver cinq volumes sur des pierres polies, ce qui demandait des efforts et un tems prodigieux." But were there no other substances that could be made use of but wood or stone, before the papyrus was brought into use? Could not linen? Do not the mummies incontestibly prove it actually was made use of before Alexandria was built, consequently before the papyrus was wont to be written on? What inattention, or what fraud, which you please, must this writer have been guilty of, when he supposes the Pentateuch must have been engraven on wood or stone, if older than the use of the papyrus! How vain the consequence, that because the ten commands were engraven on stone, therefore the whole Pentateuch must! These things would have been very surprising in another writer; but the perversely witty Mons. Voltaire has so habituated us to the expectation of meeting in him with the most groundless assertions, urged with confidence and grimace, that we are surprised at nothing which we meet with in his writings.

the modern pens of Persia, which are canes or reeds,* their paper not bearing such pens as ours, than the quills we make use of. The other Hebrew word† we translate *pen*, seems precisely to signify a thing with which they lay on colours, and consequently is equally applicable to a quill, a pencil, or a reed; it is the using the other word in poetry, which explains the nature of their pens, of which we might otherwise have been ignorant, the proper word for them not at all determining their nature.

OBSERVATION III.

METHOD OF PRESERVING THEIR WRITINGS.

WHATEVER materials the ancient Jews wrote upon they were liable to be easily destroyed by the dampness when hidden in the earth. It was therefore thought requisite to enclose them in something that might keep them from the damp, lest they should decay and be rendered useless.‡

In those days of roughness, when war knew not the softenings of later times, men were wont to bury in the earth every part of their property that could be concealed after that manner, not only silver and gold, but wheat,

* Olearius, p. 857. See also Rauwolff, in Ray's Collection of Travels, p. 87.

† There are two other words, which in our translation are rendered *pen*, חרט *cheret*, and את *et*, both of which seem to signify a style or graver to cut letters on wood, metal, or stone. EDIT.

‡ So we find our parchments are very apt to decay that are kept in moist places, as well as our modern paper. Our pictures also prove that moisture is very injurious to painted cloth, and must be more so where oil is not used. Writing on silk was not then known, which some later Eastern writers have supposed should be made use of, in committing things to writing that were highly valued, according to d'Herbelot, in the article Macamat.

barley, oil, and honey;* vestments† and writings too.‡ For that I apprehend was the occasion of Jeremiah's ordering, that the writings he delivered to Baruch, mentioned in his thirty second chapter, should be put into an earthen vessel.

The experience of preceding ages must have informed him, that lying in the earth, naked and unenclosed, would soon bring on decay; if not, he had had himself a proof of it. *Take the girdle that thou hast got*, said the LORD to him, *which is upon thy loins, and arise, go to Euphrates, and* hide *it there in a hole of the rock. So I went, and hid it by Euphrates, as the* LORD *commanded me. And it came to pass after many days, that the* LORD *said unto me, Arise, go to Euphrates, and take thy girdle from thence, which I commanded thee to hide there. Then I went to Euphrates, and digged, and took the girdle from the place where I had hid it: and behold the girdle was marred; it was profitable for nothing.*||

To obviate this, and preserve what was buried more effectually, the ancient Egyptians made use of earthen urns, or pots of a proper shape for receiving what they wanted to inter in the earth, and which without such care would have soon been destroyed. Maillet, describing the place in which those people used to bury their embalmed birds, represents it as "a subterraneous labyrinth, from which persons could not disengage themselves, were it not for the help of a line of packthread. Its several alleys are adorned on each side, with many small niches, in which are found stone vessels and pots of earth, in which are enclosed embalmed birds, which turn to dust as soon as touched. What is admirable in this affair is, that all the variety and liveliness of the colouring of their plumage is preserved."§

* Jer. xli. 8. † Josh. vii. 21. ‡ Jer. xxxii. 14. || Jer. xiii. 1—7.

§ Let. 7, p. 286. I seriously doubt this; of different Egyptian embalmed birds which I have seen, scarcely any thing remained but the bones. EDIT.

If they buried in earthen pots the things they wanted to preserve in Egypt, whose subterraneous caverns are so dry, and covered with several feet of burning sand; the Prophet Jeremiah might well suppose it proper to enclose those writings in an earthen pot, which were to be buried in Judea, in some place where they might be found without much difficulty on their return from captivity.

Two different writings, or small rolls of writing, called books in the original Hebrew, their books being only each of them a roll of writing, and these consequently being properly little books, according to their notions of things, were evidently to be enclosed in this earthen vessel, and commentators have been sadly embarrassed to give any probable account why there were two writings: one sealed; the other open; according as it is commonly understood, the one sealed up; the other left open for any one to read. One cannot imagine any cause why there should be this distinction made between them, when both were presently to be hid from every eye, by being buried in some secret place; and both were to be examined at the return from the captivity. No account indeed that is tolerably probable has been given, that I know of, why there should be two distinct writings for this sale of land; but still less, why one should be sealed up, and the other left open.

I would then remark, that though one of them is said to be sealed, it does not follow that it was sealed in such a manner as not to be opened. Many a conveyance of land has been sealed among us, and rendered valid to all intents and purposes, without ever being secured so as not to be read. The distinction of one from the other by the circumstance of its being sealed, while the second was open, seems to have been the cause of its being understood to have been sealed up, so as not to be opened; to which probably may be added, their recollecting the circumstance of a book being sealed, which on that ac-

count could not be read, mentioned by Isaiah, xxix. 11. But though a letter, which in their style might be called a book, might often be so sealed, it does not at all follow, nor is it at all probable, that the book of the purchase of an estate upon its being sealed so as to become valid, was sealed so as to be shut up that none could read it. Let us drop then the idea from its being hidden from the eye, and only sealed so as to be valid: probably not with wax; but according to the present Eastern manner, with ink.

Next it is to be observed, that the word translated *open*, the evidence or book which was open, is not that which is twice made use of, Nehemiah viii. 5. *And Ezra opened* (ויפתח vayiphtach) *the book in the sight of all the people* (for he was above all the people,) *and when he opened it, all the people stood up*;* but is a word which signifies the revealing future events unto the minds of men, by a divine agency;† and it is, in particular, made use of in the book of Esther, to express a book's making known the decree of an earthly king, chap. viii. 13. "The copy of the writing, for a commandment to be given in every province, was published (גלוי *galuee*,) unto all people," or *revealed*, as it is translated in the margin. They that look on the original, will find it is the same Hebrew verb גלה *galah*, with that used in this 32d of Jeremiah, and the very same participle of that verb. The open book then of Jeremiah seems to signify, not its being then lying open or unrolled before them, while the other was sealed up; but the book that had revealed the will of God, to bring back Israel into their own country, and to cause buying and selling of houses and lands again to take place among them.

It appears, from the beginning of the 30th chapter, that Jeremiah had been commanded to write down the decla-

* Nor that used Neh. vi. 5, where mention is made of an open letter; nor that in Dan. vii. 10, which speaks of sitting in judgment, and opening books.

† 1 Sam. iii. 7—21. Dan. ii. 19—30. ch. x. 1.

ration God had made to him by the prophetic Spirit, concerning the bringing back the captivity of Israel and Judah, and their repossessing the land given to their fathers:* now that writing, or the copy of some other similar prophecy, he produced upon this transaction, and commanded Baruch to enclose them both in the same earthen vessel, which might be exhibited afterward as a proof of the veracity of their Prophets. I apprehend then the open book means a book of prophecy, opening and revealing the future return of Israel, and should somehow have been so expressed as to convey that thought to the reader's mind, not as a little volume not sealed up, in contradistinction from the state of the other little book ordered to be buried along with it, which was the purchase deed.

The commentators I have seen do not give any such account. Calvin comes the nearest to it; but he only tells us, that he could not but believe, that a prediction of Israel's possessing again houses and fields, and vineyards, must have been written in these two little books. But he supposed, according to the common notion, one was sealed up, and the other left open; and appears not to have apprehended, that the prediction was contained in one volume, and the deed of purchase properly sealed in the other, much less that this was meant by the using these two different words. At least nothing of this sort appears in the account Pool has given of his sentiments, in the Synopsis.

OBSERVATION IV.

OF INSCRIPTIONS, SEALS, &C. OF LETTERS.

I HAVE elsewhere observed, that the Oriental books and letters, which are wont both of them to be rolled up,

* See verse 2.

are usually wrapped in a covering of an elegant kind: I would here add, that they have sometimes words on these coverings, which give a general notion of what is contained in them; which management obtained in much elder times, and might possibly be in use when some of the Psalms were written.

Sir John Chardin, describing the manner of dismissing the ambassadors and envoys that were at the court of the Persian monarch, when he was there, after mentioning the presents that were made them, goes on to inform us, "That the letters to the crowned heads were sealed; that, for the cardinal patron was open:* that for the pope was formed so as to be larger than the rest; it was enclosed in a bag of very rich brocade, and sealed at the ends, which had fringes hanging down the bag half way. The seal was applied to the place where the knot was on both sides, upon red wax, of the diameter of a piece of fifteen sols, and very thick. Upon the middle of one of the sides of the bag were written these two Persian words, *Hamel Fasel*, which signify, excellent or precious writing."† After which he goes on to explain the reasons that occasion the Persian prince to treat the popes with such distinguished honor, which it would be of no use to consider here. The remark I would make relates to the inscription, on the outside of the rich bag enclosing these despatches, and which, in few words, expressed the general nature of what was contained in the roll within: it was a royal writing.

This practice of writing on the outside of the case of a letter, or book rolled up, seems to be at least as ancient as the time of Chrysostom, according to a note of Lambert Bos on the 39th Psalm,‡ as it is reckoned in the Septuagint, verse 7. Chrysostom, we are told there, remarks, that they call a wrapper‖ the Κεφαλις, which is the word the

* The ambassador was a Dominican Monk. † Voy. tome 3, p. 246.

‡ Which is No. 40, in our version. ‖ Ειλημα.

Septnagint translators make use of to express the Hebrew word מגלת *megillath*, which we translate *volume: In the volume of the book it is written of me.* Chrysostom seems to suppose there was written in or on the sacred volume, a word or words which signified the coming of the Messiah. But Chrysostom would hardly have thought of such an interpretation, had it not been frequently done at Constantinople in his time, or by the more Eastern princes that had business to transact with the Greek emperors; or been known to have been before those times practised among the Jews.

Chrysostom lived in the end of the fourth century.* Aquila, who is believed to have lived above a hundred years earlier, and is allowed to be a most close translator of the Hebrew,† uses, according to Bos, the same word ειλημα, or wrapper, to express the above Hebrew word, which we translate volume. He therefore supposed that what was written, to which this passage refers, was written on the covering or wrapper of the sacred books. Though not a native Jew, yet he became a proselyte to the Jewish religion, and was well versed in their affairs.

This explanation, if it may be admitted that it is not improbable, that the Jews even of the time of David, used such short inscriptions on the outside of their books, expressive of the general nature of the contents of them, affords a much more agreeable way of rendering the word than our English term volume. *In the volume of the book it is written of me,* since every ancient Hebrew book was a volume or roll; consequently it is nothing more than saying, In the book it is written of me. To what purpose then is the circumstance of its being rolled up mentioned? But if it may be understood of the *case* in which their books were wrapped up, the thought is not only clear and distinct, but very energetic, amounting to this, that the sum and substance of the sacred book is, that the

* Vide Cav. Hist. Lit. † Carpzovii, Crit. Sacra, p. 557.

Messiah cometh, and that those words accordingly might be wrote or embroidered, with great propriety, on the wrapper or case in which they were kept.

Maran atha, the LORD cometh, is a Syriac expression, which St. Paul makes use of when writing a Greek letter,* and should seem, therefore, to be some form of speech frequently made use of among the people of those times, and much noted among them; perhaps then, these were the very words the Jews in ancient times frequently had inscribed on the covering of their sacred books.

A Greek Scholiast, according to Lambert Bos, has remarked that the Jews kept up their old custom till his time, of keeping their sacred books under such coverings. This may be seen in the Jewish synagogues of our times; but I never observed any words wrought in embroidery on these silken coverings, and suppose they are not now to be found, at least in our country.

Another translation, if I understand Bos aright, renders the word εν Τομω, which seems to suppose, that in his apprehension this motto was inscribed on the cylinder, on which books of this form are wont to be rolled. In such a case it is to be presumed, that it was written on that part of the cylinder, which reached beyond the parchment, linen, or whatever material was used, and which was convenient enough for exhibiting, in brief, what the purport of the volume was. Thus I have sometimes been ready to think, that the circle of gold, with the name of one of our Saxon princes upon it, and ornamented after the manner of those times, might be designed to cap the end of the cylinder, or of one of the cylinders, on which some book belonging to that monarch, or relating to him, was rolled, of which ancient piece of gold an engraving is given in the latter end of the seventh volume of the Archæologia, or Transactions of the Antiquarian Society.

* 1 Cor. xvi. 22. It should rather be translated, *our* LORD *cometh*, which is the literal meaning of these Syriac words. EDIT.

This sort of capping to those cylinders was wont, I think, to be called the *Aestel.**

There is only one remark more that I would make before I close this article, and that is, the expression, *volume of a book*, is made use of in two or three places, it may be, where it cannot well signify the wrapper of a book, but the book itself; and therefore is not to be considered as a tautology in other places, where I have supposed it is requisite to understand it of a case, or wrapper of a book; such, for instance, is that passage of Jeremiah, *Take thee a roll*, or volume, *of a book, and write therein all the words I have spoken unto thee against Israel*, &c. chap. xxxvi. 2. Now I here would remark that many things were rolled up, much in the shape of an ancient Jewish manuscript, which yet were not fit to write upon; the words then in this, and some other similar cases may be understood to mean, Take thee a roll, or volume, fit to be made a book of, fit to be written on, where it would be no tautology; whereas in such a case as in the 40th Psalm it seems very much to resemble one, unless we understand it of the wrapper.

OBSERVATION V.

CURIOUS TITLES OF THEIR BOOKS.

Many nice observations have been made on the titles of the Psalms, but attended with the greatest uncertainty.

* See Dr. Milles's Observation on the *Aestel.* Archæol. vol. 2, No. 10.

The custom of writing some expressive word or sentence upon the outside of books is very frequent in the East. The following words are frequently to be met with embossed on the covers of MS. copies of the Koran;

لا يمسه الا المطهرون ۞
تنزيل من رب العالمين ۞

None shall touch it but those who are purified:
It is a Revelation from the Lord of the Universe.

See *Al Koran*, Surat 56, v. 80, 81. I have seen several sentences embossed on the covers of Arabic MSS. and particularly on the *flap* that covers the fore edge. Edit.

Later Eastern customs, respecting the titles of books and poems, may perhaps give a little more certainty to these matters; but great precision must not be expected.

D'Herbelot tells us, that a Persian metaphysical and mystic poem was called the *Rose bush.* A collection of moral essays, the *Garden of Anemonies.* Another Eastern book, the *Lion of the Forest.* That Scherfeddin al Baussiri called a poem of his, written in praise of his Arabian prophet, who, he affirmed, had cured him of a paralytic disorder in his sleep; the *Habit of a Derveesh ;** and because he is celebrated there for having given sight to a blind person, this poem is also intituled by its author, the *Bright Star.*†

The ancient Jewish taste may reasonably be supposed to have been of the same kind. Agreeable to which is the explanation some learned men have given, of David's commanding the *bow* to be taught the children of Israel, 2 Samuel i. 18, which they apprehended did not relate to the use of that weapon in war, but to the hymn which he composed on occasion of the death of Saul and Jonathan, and from which he intituled this elegy, as they think, the *Bow.*

The twentysecond Psalm might in like manner be called the *Hind of the Morning;* the fiftysixth, the *Dove dumb in distant places*; the sixtieth, the *Lily of the Testimony;* the eightieth, the *Lilies of the Testimony;* in the plural, and the fortyfifth, simply the *Lilies.*

It is sufficiently evident, I should think, that these terms do not denote certain musical instruments. For if they did, why do the more common names of the timbrel, the harp, the psaltery, and the trumpet, with which

* The BORDAH, a famous poem by Al Baseeree, every couplet of which ends with the letter م *meem*, the first letter in the word *Mohammed.*

† Other titles are as odd: as *Gulistan*, the region of roses. *Boostan*, the garden. *Derj el Durrar*, the casket of pearls. *Ajaeeb al Makhlookhat*, the wonders of creation. *Bahar Danish*, the spring of knowledge. *Nigar stan*, the gallery of pictures, &c. EDIT.

Psalms were sung, Ps. lxxxi. 2, 3, never appear in those titles?

Do they signify certain tunes? It ought not however to be imagined that these tunes are so called from their bearing some resemblance to the noises made by the things mentioned in the titles, for lilies are *silent*, if this supposition should otherwise have been allowed with respect to the Hind of the Morning. Nor does the fifty sixth Psalm speak of the *mourning* of the Dove, but of its *dumbness*.

If they signify *tunes* at all, they must signify, the tunes to which such songs or hymns were sung, as were distinguished by these names: and so the inquiry will terminate in this point, whether the Psalms to which these titles are affixed, were called by these names; or whether they were some other Psalms or Songs to the tune of which these were to be sung.

And as we do not find the bow referred to, nor the same name twice made use of, so far as our lights reach, it seems most probable that these are the names of those very Psalms to which they are prefixed.

The fortysecond Psalm, it may be thought, might very well have been intituled the *Hind of the Morning*, because, as that panted after the water brooks, so panted the soul of the Psalmist after GOD; but the twentysecond Psalm, it is certain, might equally well be distinguished by this title, *Dogs have compassed me*, the *assembly* of the wicked have enclosed me*: and as the Psalmist in the fortysecond Psalm rather chose to compare himself to an *hart* than an *hind*, the twentysecond Psalm much better answers this title, in which he speaks of his hunted soul in the feminine gender, *Deliver my soul from the sword, my darling*, which in the original is feminine, *from the power of the dog*.

* The huntings of the Eastern people, according to Dr. Shaw, are managed by assembling great numbers of people, and enclosing the creatures they hunt, p. 235.

Every one that reflects on the circumstances of David, at the time to which the fiftysixth Psalm refers, and considers the Oriental taste, will not wonder to see that Psalm intituled the *Dove dumb in distant places:* nor are *Lilies* more improper to be made the title of other Psalms, with proper distinctions, than a *Garden of Anemonies* to be the name of a collection of moral discourses.

OBSERVATION VI.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

THE works of seven of the most excellent Arab poets, who flourished before the times of Mohammedanism, were called, d'Herbelot observes, *Al Moallacat*, because they were successively fixed, by way of honor, to the gate of the temple of Mecca; and also *Al Modhahebat*, which signifies gilded, or golden, because they were written in letters of gold upon Egyptian paper :* and d'Herbelot in a succeeding page tells us,† that the Arabs, when they would praise any one's poems, were wont to say, these are the golden verses of such or such an one, which he seems to suppose was derived from the writing of these poems in letters of gold.‡

Might not the sixtieth Psalm, and the five others that are distinguished by the same epithet, be called *golden*, on account of their having been, on some occasion or other, wrote in letters of gold, and hung up in the Sanctuary, or elsewhere? Not, it may be, on account of their being judged to have a superior excellence to the other hymns of this collection, absolutely speaking, but their being

* Page 586. † Page 593.

‡ A fine prose translation of these *seven poems* may be seen in Sir Wm. Jones's WORKS, vol. iv. p. 245, at the conclusion of which is the original Arabic. EDIT.

suited to some particular circumstances, which might occasion their being treated with this distinction.

Hezekiah, we know, went up to the house of the LORD, and spread the letter of Sennacherib before him there, Is. xxxvii. 14; *hung it up*, it may be, before the LORD. What Hezekiah did with a paper of threatening, other princes might do with these Psalms of encouragement and hope.

Some have imagined they were called golden Psalms, merely on account of their distinguished excellence. That distinguished excellence however does not appear: and what is more, the ancient Jews, it is certain, had a different way of marking this out. The *Song of Songs*, which is Solomon's,* not the *golden Song* of Solomon.

Ainsworth supposes the word מכתם *michtam* signifies a golden jewel.† That the affixing such a title to a Psalm, would have been agreeable enough to the Eastern taste anciently, we may believe from what appears in these modern times. D'Herbelot has actually mentioned a book, entituled *Bracelets of Gold*, containing an account of all that history had mentioned relating to a month sacred among the Arabs.‡ I cannot, however, easily admit that this is the true meaning of the word *michtam*, because there are several psalms which have this word prefixed to them; whereas, if it signified a jewel of gold, it would have been intended, if we may judge by modern titles of Eastern books, to have distinguished one psalm from all the rest. To which may be added, that some of these psalms have another name given them: the fiftysixth being called the *Dove dumb in distant places*, and the sixtieth the *Lily of the Testimony*.

I will only farther add, that this writing in letters of gold still continues in the East. "The greatest part of these books," says Maillet, speaking of the royal Mohammedan library in Egypt, which was so famous, and was afterward destroyed by Saladine, "were written in

* Cant. i. 1. † In his Annot. on the sixteenth Psalm. ‡ Page 714.

letters of gold, such as the Turks and Arabs, even of our time, make use of in the titles of their books."* And a little after,† speaking of the ignorance of the modern Egyptians as to the burnishing of gold, so that their gilding has nothing of the ancient splendor, he adds, "It is true, to make up this defect, they have preserved the art of making gold liquid, and fit for ink. I have seen some of their books written with this gold, which were extremely beautiful."‡

OBSERVATION VII.

EASTERN MSS. HIGHLY ORNAMENTED.

St. John evidently supposes paintings, or drawings, in that volume which he saw in the visions of God, and which was sealed with seven seals; the first figure being that of a man on a white horse, with a bow in his hand, &c.‖ We expect copperplates in our printed books, but it may be, never thought of drawings in a manuscript.

The Eastern manuscripts however, are not without these ornaments. So Olearius, describing the library belonging to the famous sepulchre of Sheekh Sefi, says, that the manuscripts are all extremely well written, beautifully bound, and those of history illustrated with many representations in miniature.§

The more ancient books of the East are also found to be beautified after this manner: for Dr. Pococke speaks

* Lett. 13, p. 189. † Page 192.

‡ A copy of the *Koran* now lying before me, besides the most splendid illuminations at the beginning and end, and on each leaf, has the *first*, *middle*, and *last* line in every page written in *letters of gold*. Many others have their titles and the titles of chapters written in *golden letters*; and some in *blue*, *red*, and *letters of gold* alternately. Add to this, that most of the finer MSS. have the whole surface of the paper *powdered with gold*, and each page enclosed in a splendid border of *gold*, *blue* and *red*, in the finest style of what is called *Arabesque*. Edit.

‖ Rev. vi. § Page 638.

his travels of two manuscripts of the Pentateuch, one the monastery of Patmos, and the other belonging to Bishop of Smyrna, adorned with several paintings, ll executed for the time, one of which is supposed to above nine hundred years old. Such a book, it seems, s that St. John saw in a vision.*

OBSERVATION VIII.

RONG FIGURES AND METAPHORS USED BY THE EASTERN WRITERS.

F they adorn their books sometimes with material ntings, those of the intellectual kind are however ch more frequent. They continue still, as they were iently, very bold, but with a coarseness, oftentimes, very pleasing to our taste.

The curious have in general, long ago remarked this; t as I have met with some instances of this kind, which y serve to illustrate some passages of scripture more rfectly than I have seen them, and as I have also obved some other passages of the modern Asiatic poets, ich may throw a light over some of those of the sacred, ill here annex, to the preceding observations, a short ecimen of those illustrations of holy writ, which a reful perusal of the Turkish, Persian, and Arabian poets uld soon enlarge. Parallel images are often introduced o our commentaries on scripture from the writers of eece and Rome; extracts from those of Asia would be re curious, and as being more perfectly in the old wish taste, would be more instructive.

* Persian MSS. are frequently adorned with very elegant paintings of n, women, birds, beasts, fishes, armor, musical instruments, &c. in iltration of the different subjects they contain. This is particularly the e in books which contain an account of military achievements, and natl history. Fine copies of the *Shah Nameh*, *Ajaeeb al Makhlookhat*, are thus ornamented. EDIT.

As to those coarse images I was speaking of, and which this Observation particularly refers to, Hushai's comparing David and his men to a bear robbed of her whelps, 2 Sam. xvii. 8, appears to us very odd; but it shocks our delicacy much more, when we find it applied to the majesty of Heaven, Lam. iii. 10.

This is however, entirely owing to the difference of the taste of the Europeans, from that of the people of the Levant. We in England, when we compare a person to a bear, always have something of a disagreeable fierceness, and awkward roughness, in view; therefore these paintings give us pain. But though *we* do, the Eastern nations do not blend these ideas with those of strength and terribleness in displeasure; that therefore which appears an indecent comparison to us, was none to them, and this image accordingly still continues in use among those people. "Saladine," says Maillet,* "going one day from Cairo up to the castle he had built there, and causing his brother Sirocoé, who had accompanied him, to take a view of its works and buildings:" 'This castle,' "said he to him," 'and all Egypt, will be one day in the possession of your children.' "Sirocoé replying that it was wrong to talk after that manner, since heaven had given him children to succeed to the crown; Saladine rejoined, "*My* children are born in Egypt, where men degenerate, and lose their spirit and bravery; but *yours* are born in the mountains of Circassia, of a man that possesses the fierceness of bears, and their courage.' "The event justified the prediction, the posterity of Saladine reigning but a few years in Egypt after the death of that great prince."

Here my reader sees Sirocoé compared to bears by an Eastern prince, where an eulogium was intended, and not the least disrespectful hint designed.

The name which a Hivite prince was called by, according to Gen. xxxiv. 2, is full as grotesque: for Hamor sig-

* Lett. 11, p. 106.

nifies an ass. Such a name would be thought a reproachful one among us, and very unbecoming the dignity of a prince; in the East they have thought very differently.* Mervan, the last califf of the Ommiades, was sirnamed according to Mons. d'Herbelot, Hemar, the ass, and the ass of Mesopotamia, because of his strength and vigour. And as the wild ass is supposed by the Oriental people, to surpass all other animals in swiftness, Baharam, king of Persia, he says, was sirnamed Jour: a word which signifies in the language of that country, a wild ass.†

OBSERVATION IX.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

As to the Asiatic poets, Aboulfarage Sangiari, a Persian, who lived at the time of the irruption of the Tartars

* The modern Eastern people however, at least sometimes, seem to understand it as an affront; so Dr. Drummond in his Travels, repeating the unpolite answer the Turkish commander at Beer, in Mesopotamia, returned to their request to see the castle there, tells us that he asked, "Do they take me for a child, or an ass's head, that they would feed me with sweetmeats, and dupe me with a bit of cloth? No! they shall not see the castle," &c. p. 206. I cannot forbear remarking here, that we find an expression something like this in one of the prophetic historians, 2 Sam. v. 8: *Then was Abner very wroth for the words of Ishbosheth, and said, Am I a dog's head?* &c. Some learned men, and some modern Jewish writers, according to Bishop Patrick, have understood this term as signifying, he was treated as if he was captain of a pack of dogs, instead of leader of the armies of Israel; but this does not seem to me to be a natural explanation, and this expression of the gnvernor of Beer seems much better to illustrate the complaint of Abner. Do they take me for an ass's head? seems to mean, Do they think I am stupid as an sss! and, "Am I a dog's head!" seems to signify, Am I dog! Which kind of complaining expostulatory expression we meet with elsewhere, 1 Sam. xvii. 43. If there is any difference between these expressions, it seems to be, that as an ass's head apparently means, like an ass with respect to understanding; so dog's head should answerably signify, Are all my cares for thee of no more value in thine eyes than those of a dog, one of the most impure and despicable of animals, that amuses thee in hunting for prey?

† Page 447.

under Genghizkhan, gives this description of those miserable days. "It was a time in which the sun arose in the West. That all sort of joy was then banished from the world, and men appeared to be made for no other end but suffering. In all the countries through which I have passed, I either found no body at all, or met only with distressed wetches."* Just so the Prophet Amos threatened, that GOD would make the sun to go down at noon, and would darken the earth in a clear day; that he would turn their feasts into mourning, and their songs into lamentation, &c. ch. viii. 9, 10.

The *sun's going down at noon* and its *rising in the West*, are different expressions indeed, but they are of the same import, and serve to illustrate one another: for they both signify how extremely short their time of prosperity would be, how unexpectedly it would terminate, and for how long a time it would be succeeded by suffering, of which *darkness* was often made the emblem.

OBSERVATION X.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

THE Prophet Ezekiel has these words in his twentieth chapter: ver. 47. *Say to the forest of the South, hear the word of the* LORD, *thus saith the* LORD GOD, *Behold I will kindle a fire in thee, and it shall devour every green tree, and every dry tree: the flaming fire shall not be quenched, and all faces from the South to the North shall be burnt therein:* this may be parallelled by a passage of a modern writer. Upon receiving this message from GOD, the Prophet observes that the people were ready to say, his messages were parables, ver. 49. Whether this declaration of GOD was really as hard to be

* D'Herbelot, p. 25.

understood by them as a parable, I shall not take upon me to say ; but d'Herbelot* has given us a passage of a Persian poet, describing the desolation made by a pestilence,† whose terms very much resemble the words of the Prophet.

"The pestilence, like an evening fire, ruins at once this beautiful city, whose territory gives an odour surpassing that of the most excellent perfumes.
"Of all its inhabitants, there remains neither a young man nor an old :
"This was a lightning that falling upon a forest, consumed there the green wood with the dry."

So the pestilence and coals of fire are mentioned together in the same verse of the Prophet Habakkuk, *Before him went the pestilence, and burning coals went forth at his feet*, ch. iii. 5.

OBSERVATION XI.

A CURIOUS DESCRIPTION OF THE SPRING, FROM AN EASTERN WRITER, WITH REMARKS.

In speaking of the Eastern books, I have already had occasion to notice the liveliness of their images ; though the genius of their writers received no assistance from the labours of the sculptor or the painter, it may be pleasing to add to former instances an Eastern description of the spring.

Two of the three classes of medals which Mr. Addison has exhibited and explained, consists of alegorical personages ; cities and countries, virtues and vices, and the

* Page 330.

† This pestilence entirely ruined the city of Asterabad, in the time of a prince who died in the year of our Lord 997. Voy. d'Herbelot, p. 140.

comparing the descriptions of the Roman poets with their coins, is both ingenious and pleasing; but there is no opportunity of making such comparison when we are examining Eastern writers. They are however not deficient in giving their readers some lively representations of allegorical personages.

Especially the sacred writers. In them we find countries and cities described after this emblematical manner,* and other allegorical personages.† And as thus the several stages of human life, the four quarters of the year, the several divisions of the day, are represented among us by fictitious personages; so in like manner in the Jewish Prophets we read of *the womb of the morning*, *of the dew of youth*, of *the flower of man's age*, and a time of life that resembles a *shock of corn fully ripe*.

And thus amidst the present austerity, and perhaps superstitious scrupulosity of the East, we sometimes meet with lively images of this kind. So the spring is described in a most pleasingly romantic manner, in two of the four following lines, as given us by Chardin from an Oriental writer:

The *Spring* shows itself with a *tulip* in its hand, which resembles in its form a *cup*.
To make an *effusion* of morning drops *on the tomb* of the king who lies in Negef.‡
In this same new year's day, Ali being placed on the seat of the Prophet,
He has made the festival of new year's day a glorious one.||

The author of a paper, that describes the four quarters of the year, and even each month, in a beautiful symbolical manner, given us in a celebrated collection,§ rep-

* Jer. vi. Isai. xxiii. 15, 16. Ezek. xvi. 3, &c.

† Hab. iii. 4, 5. Ps. xci. 5, 6. Rev. vi. 5.

‡ Ali, the son in law of Mohammed, one of the great objects of Persian veneration, is the prince here meant.

|| Chardin, tome i. p. 173. § Spectator, No. 425.

resents the spring as a beautiful youth having a narcissus in his hand; the tulip of this Eastern writer is much more accurate, as, according to Dr. Russell,* the narcissus comes into flower long before the day the spring is supposed to begin, which is when the sun enters Aries, being in blossom the whole of the Murbania, which begins the 12th of December, and ends January 20th. The tulip blossoms later, but in that country, time enough to be placed in the hand of this imaginary person, at its first appearance.

The form of the tulip too, much better suited the views of this elder writer, as much more proper for the holding what was liquid, than the flat make of the narcissus: "The tulip which resembles a cup." Not however a cup for drinking, that appears not to have been his thought, but a vase designed to give out its contained fluids in drops, which kind of vessels are often used in the East, for the sprinkling those they would honor, with odoriferous waters, made sometimes like a long necked bottle,† but might as well be made without the long neck, and in shape like a tulip, before it is opened, and its leaves spread out. By such a vessel, in form like a tulip, whose petals are nearly closed together, an effusion may be made of many drops.

Every body knows that the dew appears in drops in the morning, and as the day advances they disappear: the Scriptures frequently refer to this circumstance.‡ They too first begin to appear on the approach of warm weather. It is no wonder then, that the appearance of these pleasing and enlivening drops of the morning is introduced into a description of spring.

The introducing also an allusion to the Eastern manner, of softening the horror of the repositories of the dead, is very amusing to the imagination, and a beauty in this

* Vol. i. p. 70. † Niebuhr, Des. de l'Arab. tab. 1.

‡ Exod. xvi. 13, Hos. vi. 4.

description. They are wont to strew flowers and pleasing herbs, or leaves of trees, on the sepulchres of their friends; but more than that, Dr. Shaw tells us, that the intermediate spaces between their graves are frequently planted with flowers,* as at other times paved with tiles. We meet with the like account in some other writers. Now in such cases, the same respect for the dead that leads the people of these countries to visit their graves, and to cover them with flowers, must excite them to water those vegetables that are planted on or near these graves, in a dry time, that they may flourish and yield their perfumes. With reference to such a management, the spring is here represented as covering the burial place of Ali, with enlivening drops of dew, a prince whose memory the Persians hold in the highest veneration.

This however is to be considered as a mere poetical embellishment, for the tomb of Ali does not lie open to the dew or the rain, but is under the shelter of a most sumptuous mosque, whose dome, and two towers, are said to be covered with the most precious materials of any roof in the world; Copper so richly gilt, as that every eight square inches and a half are coated by a toman of gold, equal to ten German crowns, which makes it look extremely superb, especially when the sun shines.†

It cannot be certainly determined, by the French translation of these verses, whether they represent the spring, in the person of one of the *male* or *female* sex; but it seems most probable that he meant a *female*, those of that sex being much more assiduous in visiting, and adorning the tombs of those they love or esteem, than the men.

Upon the whole, the imagery of this allegorical description appears to be very beautiful.

* Page 219.

† Voyages de Niebuhr en Arabie, et en d'autres Pays, tome 2d, p. 219.

OBSERVATION XII.

SOLOMON'S PORTRAIT OF OLD AGE.

In like manner the images with which Solomon introduces his description of old age, seem to me to be designed to represent it as the winter of human life, in general, and not as a part of that enumeration of its particular evils, which he afterward gives us in a collection of hieroglyphics, which have been not a little puzzling to the learned, when they have attempted to decypher them with clearness and conviction.

Among others, the very learned and ingenious Dr. Mead, proposing in the declining part of his life to explain and illustrate the diseases mentioned in Scripture, has appropriated a chapter of that work to the consideration of Solomon's description of old age, in the 12th of Ecclesiastes.

It is not to be supposed, that any person was better qualified to describe the attendants on old age than this writer, in a medical way; but it is much to be questioned, whether such a scientific investigation is the best comment on an ancient poem, written indeed by the greatest naturalist in his day,* but designed for common use, and for the making impressions, in particular, on the hearts of the young. A more popular explanation then, is most likely to be truer, if founded on Eastern customs, and the state of things in those countries.

It will be of advantage too, I apprehend, to divide the paragraphs into parts, contrary to the Doctor's supposition, who seems to think that the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th verses are to be understood as forming one emblematical catalogue, of the usual afflictive attendants on old age. This has unhappily multiplied particulars, and added to the embarrassment.

* 1 Kings iv. 30, 33.

On the contrary, I should think it most natural to understand the 2d verse as a general allegorical representation of the decline of life, as being its winter; the 3d, 4th, and part of the 5th verse, as descriptive of the particular bitterness of that part of life; after that, as mentioning death and the grave; and the 6th verse, as emblematically representing the state of the body after death, before its dissolving into dust.

It is, I am inclined to think, as if Solomon should design to say, Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, before the evil days come, and the winter of human life overtakes thee; before that painful variety of complaints, belonging to old age, distresses thee; which must be expected to end in death; before thy body shall be deposited, ghastly, motionless, and irrecoverably lost to the life of this present state, in the grave, where it will be laid, ere long, in expectation of its return to dust, according to the solemn sentence pronounced on our great progenitor, *Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.*

To this last part of the paragraph agrees a preceding exhortation of this royal preceptor. *Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might: for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave whither thou goest.** In the first part he calls men to a due remembrance of their Creator, in other words to a life of religion, in the days of their youth, before the winter of old age should come, or those many ailments and complaints take place, which commonly attend that stage of life.

I suppose then that the words, verse 2, *While the sun, or the light, or the moon, or the stars be not darkened, nor the clouds return after the rain,* is a description of winter, not of diseases: and to make this out is the first point to be attended to.

* Chap. ix. 10.

It is unnecessary to cite passages to prove, that old age is frequently compared to the evening of a day, or the wintry part of the year, by modern writers in the West; as youth on the contrary, is among them compared to the *spring* and the *morning*;* but it may be requisite to show that the same way of thinking obtains in the East.

This is not difficult to do. Sir John Chardin, giving a translation of many pieces of Persian poetry, in his 2d tome,† informs us, that a copy of verses, written in praise of an Atabek prince, whose name was Mahomed, the son of Aboubeker, begins with two lines, which signify,

"Happy youthfulness, brilliant morning, generous heart,
Which wears the gravity of age, on a youthful countenance."

Here youthfulness and morning are used as equivalent terms in Eastern poetic language. On the contrary, *Rocoub alcousag*, according to d'Herbelot,‡ are words which signify "the cavalcade of the old man without a beard. It is the name of a festival that the ancient Persians celebrated at the end of winter, in which a bald old man, and without a beard, mounted on an ass, and holding a *raven* in one of his hands, went about striking all he met with a switch." This figure represented *winter*.

Winter then, according to the taste of the East, as well as of the people of the West, was thought to be properly represented by an *old man*, far advanced in years. Consequently the converse of this must have appeared natural to them: to represent old age by winter.

On the other hand, those words of Solomon in the second verse will he found, on examination, to be an exact

* Thus Hafez represents the *spring* as the emblem of *youth* in the following couplet:

نفس باد صبا مشک فشان خواهد شد
علم پیر دگر باره جوان خواهد شد

"The breath of the morning breeze will scatter musk;
"The *old world* will again enter into the *path of youth*."
i.e. the *winter* will shortly give place to *spring*. EDIT.

† Page 195. ‡ Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 718.

delineation of an Eastern winter: hardly a cloud, according to Dr. Russell, is to be seen all summer,* but the winter is frequently dark and gloomy, and often dark clouds soon return, and pour down a fresh deluge, after a great deal of rain had descended just before,† whereas after the first rains of autumn there is frequently a considerable interval of fine weather before it rains again ‡

As then this second verse is such an exact description of their winters; as winter is by them represented by an old man; and as Solomon passes on from one complaint to another in the 3d and 4th verses, without such a distinction between them as he makes between the 2d and 3d verses; I think that, instead of explaining the *darkening of the sun, the moon and the stars*, and even of the common degree of light in a cloudy day, of one of the ailments of old age, as Dr. Mead has done; we are rather to understand him as speaking of old age under the notion of winter, rising from the plain and simple description of "evil days," and years, concerning which we are obliged to say, we *have no pleasure in them*, to a more elevated, a figurative and emblematical representation of that time of life which is the reverse of youth. *Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth*, before evil days come, and the years draw nigh, in which thou wilt find little or no pleasure; in one word, before the winter of life, that gloomy season commences.

OBSERVATION XIII.

SOLOMON'S PORTRAIT OF OLD AGE CONTINUED.

As the human body, is frequently in the Scripture compared to a house, inhabited by the soul with its various

* Descr. of Aleppo, vol. 1, p 66.

† Ibid. Appendix. See also citations on the 1st vol. of these Observations from other writers.

‡ Page 14, 155, &c.

powers,* or other spiritual beings,† so Solomon here makes use of the same thought in the first part of his emblematical description of the sorrows of old age; from whence with the unconfined, and seemingly to us irregular operation of an Oriental genius, he passes on to images of a quite different and unconnected kind. *In the day when the keepers of the* HOUSE *shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves, and the grinders cease,* or fail, *because they are few, and those that look out of their windows be darkened, and the doors shall be shut in the streets, when the sound of the grinding is low,* &c.

It ought also further to be observed here, that as Solomon compares the body to a HOUSE in a considerable part of this description, so it is apparent that he represents it not as a cottage, inhabited by a solitary person, but, more conformably to the circumstances of the writer‡ and the pupil,‖ as a palace full of people.

But to dismiss preliminaries. Old age frequently brings on the loss of sight: *When Isaac was old, and his eyes were dim, so that he could not see, he called Esau his eldest son,* Gen. xxvii. 15; *The eyes of Israel were dim for age, so that he could not see,* ch. xlviii. 10; in like manner we read, concerning one of the Prophets, *Ahijah could not see, for his eyes were set by reason of his age,* 1 Kings xiv. 4. It is a common complaint.

It will easily be imagined that blindness, and the impairing of the sight, is meant by that emblem, *Those that look out of the windows shall he darkened.* Different as men's apprehensions have been as to the other clauses, all seem to agree in the explanation of this; it may, however, perhaps admit a clearer illustration than has been given of it.

* 2 Cor. v. 1. † Matt. xii. 45. Luke xi. 26.

‡ The son of David, king of Jerusalem, ch. i. 1.

‖ Whom he calls his son, ch. xii. 12, and probably meant one of his own children by that term, though it indeed sometimes means only a younger person.

The word הראות *haraoth*, which expresses those who look out of the windows is feminine, and the allusion seems to be to the circumstances of the females of the East, who, though confined much more to the house than those of Europe are, and afraid to show themselves to strangers even there, are sometimes indulged with the pleasure of looking out of the windows, when any thing remarkable is to be seen, or of assembling on the house top on such occasions.* But in common the shutters of those next the street are closed, not only to keep out the heat of the sun from their rooms, but for privacy too, their windows being only latticed, and consequently too public for such a jealous people.

So among the ancient Jews, though the women had more liberty than the females of those countries in our times, yet they were wont not to go out, when the men crowded the streets, but to look at what passed through the windows. Thus we read, Judges v. 28. *The mother of Sisera looked out at a window, and cried through the lattice, Why is his chariot so long in coming?* And we are told, that upon occasion of introducing the ark into the city of David, with music and dancing, and all the people in solemn procession, Michal his consort, the daughter of king Saul, and consequently his principal wife, was not there, but looked through a window to see the magnificent procession, 2 Sam. vi. 16.

But when the shutters are closed, as Dr. Shaw tells us those that open into the street commonly are,† they lose the pleasure of seeing what passes abroad in the world; though they doubtless feel the impressions of curiosity as strongly as the women of the north and the west, and may with great eagerness desire to see what is transacted there.

How lively this image! how severely are the blind wont to regret the loss of their sight, and eagerly wish to see what passes abroad in the world! But in old age often,

* Irwin's Voyage up the Red Sea, p. 48. † Page 207.

and in the figurative language of Solomon, *the women that look out at the windows are darkened.*

But besides the dignified women of an Eastern palace, the wives and the daughters, that might be curious to view what passed in the streets, *there were strong men entertained there as keepers of the house,* to guard it from danger: so when Uriah the Hittite, one of David's mighty men,* came from the camp to that prince, as if to answer some questions concerning the state of the army, instead of retiring to his house upon his being dismissed, he slept, the sacred historian tells us, *at the door of the king's house with all the servants of his lord, and went not down to his house.*† So a guard kept the door of Rehoboam's house, who bare the shields of brass which that prince made, instead of the three hundred of gold his predecessor had,‡ which Shishak king of Egypt took away, when Rehoboam went into the house of the LORD, and who at his return brought them back into the guard chamber.§

Such keepers of the door of his palace, Solomon, the intermediate prince between David and Rehoboam, without doubt had, and to these he alludes in the two clauses, *In the day when the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves:* and to their trembling at the approach of an adversary they were unable to resist, and their bowing down with submissiveness before him.

So when Jehu slew his predecessor Joram, and wrote to those that were charged with the over sight of the royal palace, and the taking care of his children, and consequently of Joram's expected successor; when Jehu, I say, wrote to them, and called them to stand upon their defence, they trembled, and declared themselves ready to bow down before him as his servants, according to the prophetic historian, though expressed in somewhat differ-

* 2 Sam. xxiii. 39. † Ch. xi. 9.

‡ 1 Kings x. 17. § Ch. xiv. 27, 28.

ent terms. *Look even out the best and meetest of your master's sons, and set him on his father's throne, and fight for your master's house But they were exceedingly afraid, and said, Behold, two kings stood not before him: how then shall we stand? And he that was over the house, and he that was over the city, the elders also, and the bringers up of the children, sent to Jehu, saying, We are thy servants, and will do all that thou shalt bid us; we will not make any king: do thou that which is good in thine eyes.**

There is, my readers will observe, a near connexion between these two clauses, as they are accordingly closely joined together by Solomon, the keepers of the house, and the strong men that are kept in an Eastern palace, but distinctly mentioned, they seem to point out two different effects of old age; *weakness of the hands* united with *paralytic tremblings*, and the *bending of the back*, when the body is enfeebled by age. They are both most certainly attendants on old age, and I think may both be said to be pointed out in other places of Scripture, which I believe will be found sufficient to direct us to all the symptoms and complaints of old age here, without having recourse to medical writers; and if it will, such a popular account must be allowed to be most natural, and consequently most probable.

The stooping, or bending of the back, before old age brings on death, is mentioned in Scripture: *Therefore he brought upon them the king of the Chaldees, who slew their young men with the sword, in the house of the sanctuary, and had no compassion on the young man or maiden, old man, or him that stoopeth for age*, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. The weakness of the hands, which is frequently attended by paralytic tremblings, is sufficiently expressed in the beginning of the 30th chapter of Job, amidst all the obscurity that spreads itself over the last clause of the 2d verse. *But now they that are younger*

* 2 Kings x. 3, 4, 5.

than I, have me in derision, whose fathers I would have disdained to have set with the dogs of my flock. Yea, whereunto might the strength of their hand profit me, in whom old age was perished? Perhaps the true meaning of the last clause may be, "in whom old age had made it, the strength of their hands, to perish;" but, whether the last clause is so to be understood or not, it is evident that Job supposes the strength of their hands was gone in these old people. It is to be considered then as one of the infirmities of old age; and as we find this debility of the hands is frequently attended with paralytic tremblings; so we find the Scripture speaks of *fear* as producing both effects: *trembling* is described as one of the consequences of *fear*. Ps. cxix. cxx. Dan. v. 19, Mark v. 33, &c. as *weakness* and *loss of strength* are in other places, Jer. vi. 24, &c. Matt. xxviii. 4, seems to join them together, as we often find them to be by what we observe in the world, *For fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men*, losing all their strength.

Since then Solomon plainly represents the human body under the notion of a great house or palace, and allegorically describes the decays of old age agreeably to this notion in the first part of his account of them, or in other words, in the 3d verse and beginning of the 4th, nothing can be more natural than to understand the *shaking of the hands*, and the *bending of the back*, previous to the approach of death, the *king of terrors*, by the *trembling* of the guards of an Eastern palace when a stronger than he that inhabits it approaches, with a force they know to be irresistible; and the bowing down of the strong men that are entertained there for support, with great submissiveness, when he that will assuredly conquer draws nigh.

This explanation of these two kindred clauses is so obvious, that, I apprehend, it is generally, if not universally embraced: it is certain these symptoms of old age are naturally introduced; and the allegorical manner of speaking of them quite in the Eastern taste. The reference to

Oriental occurrences is indeed all that is new thus far under this article.

The next article relates to the *female slaves*, whose business was to grind the corn, spent in great quantities by the masters of Eastern palaces, in the time of youthful jollity and high health, but which employment was wont to decrease in the time of old age. *And the grinders* הטחנות hatachanoth, in the feminine gender, *cease because they are few*, or, as the words are translated in the margin, "The grinders fail, because they grind little."

To which may be added a clause from the 4th verse, which has a good deal of relation to this; *And the doors shall be shut in the streets, when the sound of the grinding is low.*

There is a relation between these two clauses, but not such a sameness as to forbid the making them distinct parts of this celebrated description.

The first of these two clauses seems to relate to a bitterness of this time of declining life, which the aged Barzillai speaks of in a very feeling manner, *I am this day fourscore years old: and can I discern between good and evil? Can thy servant taste what I eat, or what I drink?* 2 Sam. xix. 35.

I have before shown, that the Eastern people are wont to grind their corn every day, as they want it; and that it is done at home by the meanest of their *female slaves*, by small handmills; and that a great part of their food consists of farinaceous preparations, which they diversify by various methods, that the palate, under every alteration and change of taste the full fed are apt to feel, (according to those words of Solomon elsewhere, *The full soul loatheth an honeycomb; but to the hungry soul, every bitter thing is sweet*,*) may find something it may eat with relish and pleasure. The preparing a mere sufficiency of food fully to support nature would not do; but when a prince, or even a man of Barzillai's wealth, had lost the

* Prov. xxvii. 7.

powers of taste, and an ability to distinguish between the different flavours of what was placed upon the table, such a variety of preparations became needless, and one sort of food would do as well as fifty, on which account there would be much less occasion for grinding corn in his house, than in the earlier days of such a man's life. *Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, when the powers of tasting shall be lost, on which account the grinders shall cease their labour much sooner than before time, because they want to grind but little.*

Rice, if it was known anciently at all there, had been introduced into common use in these countries long since the age of Solomon. This is not commonly prepared among them for eating by grinding, but is stewed with different things, so as to acquire different tastes and colours. Chardin gives an account of a feast at Tifflis, the chief city of Georgia, where he was present, which consisted of three courses, and about sixty dishes in each course. The first course of which he tells us,* was wholly made up of different preparations of rice, in which meat or other things were mixed, so as to give the rice different colours and flavours. The yellow was prepared with sugar, cinnamon, and saffron; the red with pomegranate juice; the white was the most natural, and at the same time most agreeable. His account of the different preparations of rice, in the form of a *pilo*, pilaw, as he writes the word, is enlarged in his second tome,† where he mentions some as seasoned with fennel, others with the juice of cherries, or mulberries, others with tamarinds, besides twenty different sorts diversified by the means of different kinds of meat, butter, and the way of preparing them.

If they now have so great a variety in preparing their rice, the great succedaneum of the wheat and barley of former times, we have reason to believe, that the same

* Tome 1, p. 141. † Page 263.

sense of grandeur, and difference of palate, which occasions such a variety in modern times as to rice, led them to vary their preparations from the flour of wheat and barley. Several of them are probably now worn out of use and remembrance. However, still there are various preparations of their flour in use in the East, of different tastes and suiting different palates. Dr. Shaw mentions cuscassowe, hamza, doweeda or vermezelli, bagreab.* And Dr. Russell gives an account of their having different kinds of bread, besides a variety of rusks and biscuits, most of which are strowed on the top with seeds of sesamum or fennel.†

Though rice is now principally in use, they have still a variety of farinaceous preparations, which were in all probability still more numerous before rice was introduced; and the splendour with which a great man lived, in ancient times, required the grinding much more corn, than afterward, when the variety could no longer be enjoyed.

After this manner I would explain this clause, which, I think, in a simple, but energetic manner, points out that loss of the power of tasting, which Barzillai describes as an attendant on old age.

The common way of explaining these words, by referring them to the loss of teeth, which certainly often attends the decline of life, does not appear to me to be so probably the thought of Solomon here, though the frequent application of the term *grinding* to the teeth, strongly inclines the mind to it.

My reasons against adopting such an interpretation are these: In the first place, if this interpretation of that part of the description were just, it would be answerable to the other parts of the representation of old age here, which all admit is highly allegorical: it would be too simple. In the next place, if the way of preparing their food then resembled what is now in use among the Eastern nations,

* Page 230, note. † Vol. i. p. 116.

the grinding of the teeth was not much: the bread there being, in common, soft, like a pancake; their cuscassowe, a preparation of flour in small pellets, somewhat resembling the minute fragments of spoon puddings; and their animal food so thoroughly done, as to require no knives to cut it, being pulled into pieces by the fingers, so as to supercede the operation of much grinding by the teeth. Lastly, I would ask, would the grinding of the teeth cease, or not continue so long as formerly, because they were few? would not the fewness of the teeth make a greater length of time necessary for the grinding instead of a less, which Solomon supposes?

As to that clause of the 4th verse, which bears some resemblance to the last I have been explaining, *And the doors shall be shut in the streets, when the sound of the grinding is low*, I should suppose it is to be explained of that love of retirement, and dislike of much company, which may frequently be remarked in the aged, and which Barzillai strongly expressed in the above cited place, in which he signified his desire rather to go home, to a life of privacy and retirement, than to go to Jerusalem, daily to converse with the courtiers of king David.

It seems by a passage in Isaiah, that the *shutting the doors of a house*, was a mark, that no company of the joyous kind was expected or desired there: *All the merry hearted do sigh. The mirth of the tabret ceaseth, the noise of them that rejoice endeth, the joy of the harp ceaseth. They shall not drink wine with a song: strong drink shall be bitter to them that drink it. The city of confusion is broken down; every house is shut up that no man may come in. There is a crying for wine in the streets; all joy is darkened, the mirth of the land is gone.**

A most ingenious and respectable author has translated this tenth verse after this manner:

* Is. xxiv. 7—11.

"The city is broken down; it is desolate;
Every house is obstructed, so that no one can enter."*

This imports, I apprehend, total desolation; whereas the 6th verse speaks of inhabitants that were left, though few in number, as does also the 13th verse. This then does not appear to be intended to be a description of a total, but only of a partial desolation. Not to say, that where a city is entirely desolated, the houses are not, every one, so obstructed as that none can enter into them, though some may.

The celebrated Mr. Wood, in his return from Palmyra, found a village which was only abandoned for a time, on account of some troubles that then disturbed that part of the country, whose houses were all open, every thing carried off, and not a living creature to be seen.† And such, surely, would have been the state of the houses in a city quite abandoned: the houses that were not totally demolished by the violence of war, would have been left open, not obstructed in such a manner that nobody could enter into any of them.

Accordingly I should think it not improbable, that the keeping every house shut up, is intended to express, by an additional circumstance, what the Prophet had pointed out by a variety of other terms, namely, that the noise of them that rejoiced was ended, that all joy was darkened, and the mirth of the land gone.

If so, Solomon, in this his description of old age, when he says, *the doors shall be shut in the street*, is to be understood to mean, that as the aged cannot take that pleasure themselves in a variety of food, that they did in former times; so neither can they well bear, at their time of life, a great deal of company, or take pleasure in preparing large entertainments for their friends: they delight, on the contrary, in retirement and solitude, like the good

* Bp. of London's new translation.

† Ruins of Balbec, p. 8.

old Gileadite Barzillai, who attended king David as far as Jordan, in his return to Jerusalem.

Of course, as their doors are less open in this time of their retired age, than in the more sociable days of earlier life; so the sound of the grinding, which was wont to be long continued, and at the same time probably made more lively and joyous, by the united voices of more people than usual, employed in grinding corn for an approaching feast, and perhaps singing with greater spirit than common on such festive occasions; I say, the sound of grinding in the time of aged solitude must have been comparatively very little: the work itself much less than in former times; and the temper of the master of the house requiring them to be more moderate in their mirth: *When the doors shall be shut in the streets, when the sound of the grinding is low.*

Among other bitternesses of life, Job mentions the want of rest and sleep. *When I lie down, I say, When shall I arise, and the night be gone? and I am full of tossings to and fro until the dawning of the day.** And none feel the justness of this description more than the aged; though it is not of them immediately that Job speaks. Their want of sleep, their restlessness when in bed, and the bone aches which disable them from enjoying the repose of the night, with any thing like the comfort which the young feel, is well known to be frequently the situation of the aged, and seems to be referred to in that clause, *He shall rise up at the voice of the bird.*

I cannot easily admit the paraphrase of Bishop Patrick here: "Sound sleep departs from his eyes, and he awakes early as the birds, but is not pleased at all with their songs;" since it is common to all, the young and the healthy, as well as the aged, in the East, to rise with the dawn, and consequently with the beginning of the singing of the birds.

* Job vii. 4.

"In this country," Dr. Richard Chandler observes, "on the account of the heat, it is usual to rise with the dawn."* He immediately after adds, that about day break, they received from a Greek with a respectable beard, who acted as consul for the French in that place, a present of fruit, which they had with other things for breakfast.

Rising then with the birds belonged to every age in general in that country, but it is visible that rising earlier than common was what Solomon meant. I should therefore apprehend, that the interpretation of Dr. Mead is more accurate than that of Bishop Patrick, who supposes *the voice of the bird*, means the crowing of the cock, which is in the night, before the dawning of the day.† Accordingly, we find Solomon does not speak of the birds in the plural, but of the bird, whose voice was first heard in the morning of all the feathered kind, proclaiming its approach. The Septuagint indeed translate the Hebrew צפור *tsippor*, by the Greek word Στρουθιον, which signifies any small bird, or particularly the sparrow; but this is not the only instance, by which it appears that those translators did not discover much judgment in their version.‡

The change of person in this clause may deserve some attention, as it may show the connexion of this clause with the succeeding, placing it in a somewhat different light from that in which it has been commonly viewed. Before, the royal preacher represented the decays of age by what happened in a house to the servants, or the women; here, he seems to speak of the master of the house, HE shall rise up at the voice of the bird, and by

* Travels in Asia Minor, p. 18.

† The third of the four watches of the night, according to St. Mark, ch. xiii. 35.

‡ As צפירה *tsapeerah* signifies the *morning*, in several places of the Old Testament, so it is likely that צפור *tsippor* signifies the *cock* here, or *morning bird*, as it may be properly termed, seeing it is continually employed in watching for, and announcing the approach of day. EDIT.

that means disconcert the daughters of song, who, after being depressed and much neglected, may become at length quite useless. This must be opened a little more distinctly.

And all the daughters of music shall be brought low.

The words *daughter* and *daughters* are used in the Hebrew, as well as the terms *father* and *son*, in a manner not common to the languages of the West, and with very different meanings. Sometimes the term daughter seems to be added to a word, without any discoverable addition to the meaning. So Psalm xvii. 8, *Keep me as the apple of the eye*, is, in the original, "as the black, or pupil, of the daughter of the eye," where the daughter of the eye seems to mean simply the eye: the same may be observed, Lam. ii. 18, *Let tears run down like a river day and night, give thyself no rest, let not the apple of thine eye cease*, which is, in the original, let not "the daughter of thine eye cease," that is, simply, let not thine eye cease, for the pupil is not the part from which tears flow.

At other times the words *daughter* or *daughters* seem to add to the general idea something of a particular nature. So Genesis xlix. 22, *Joseph is a fruitful bough by a well*, whose branches (whose daughters it is in the Hebrew) *run over the wall:* here the word daughters apparently mean, the lesser bearing boughs. *Bath Kol*, the daughter of a voice, is a well known expression among the Jews, which signifies, with them, not every voice that is heard, but a voice supposed to have something oracular in it.

It may be difficult then, with nice precision, to ascertain the meaning of the words, "All the daughters of music," or rather, all the daughters of song. Women, and those probably both young and virgins were undoubtedly employed in singing in the ancient Jewish palaces, for Barzillai, when he declined going to reside with the king in Jerusalem, says, *Can I hear any more the voice of*

singing men and singing women? wherefore then should thy servant be yet a burden to the king? 2 Sam. xix. 35. But then men were equally employed. The daughters of song, therefore, mean not restrictively female singers, but probably every thing belonging to song, persons of both sexes, instruments of all descriptions,* every thing concerned in song.

If the master of a great house rose before dawn, he prevented the music of the morning, and disappointed the musicians of the house; but their being brought low, or absolutely depressed, seems to mean something more, and may probably point at that deafness of which Barzillai complained, in the words just now cited, and which is such a frequent attendant on old age.

To make every reader comprehend the meaning of the last paragraph, it may be requisite to observe, that, according to the Arabian Nights' Entertainments,† the music in the Eastern palaces is supposed to play when the prince begins to rise, the premature quitting the bed then before the day dawned, must have been disconcerting to the royal musicians; but if deafness took place, their music must be entirely useless as to the prince, and might occasion their being brought low by a total dismission, as David was dismissed by Saul, after having played before him for some time,‡ when the evil spirit of melancholy troubled him. *Can I hear the voice of singing men and singing women?* said Barzillai.

Feeble and tottering steps, which require the support of a staff, are another attendant on old age, according to the Prophet Zechariah, ch. viii. 4: *Thus saith the* LORD *of Hosts, there shall yet old men and old women dwell*

* And accordingly it has been observed, that the verb שחו *yishshachoo*, shall be brought low, is not feminine, which shows the word *daughters* does not mean women precisely speaking, but is to be understood of *every thing* belonging to song.

† Vol. 9, p. 21, &c.

‡ 1 Sam. xvii. 15.

in the streets of Jerusalem, and every man with his staff in his hand for every age.

And to this effect of old age those clauses of this 12th of Eccl. literally refer, *Also when they shall be afraid of that which is high, and fears shall be in the way;* but they are designed, I presume, to point out the extreme unfitness of old age, particularly in princes, to conduct dangerous enterprizes.

Dr. Chandler frequently complains, in his travels, of the troublesome and dangerous ascending and descending high hills that he had to pass over, in his journeying in the Lesser Asia; Mr. Maundrell makes the like complaint, as to several parts of his way from Aleppo to Jerusalem. An ancient person must have found it more dangerous still. Nay, the shuffling and tottering steps of old age might make people afraid of their travelling in less mountainous roads, as a staff is by no means a sure preservative against falling. These clauses refer, I should apprehend, to this well grounded concern for the aged. Nor was travelling on horses or asses quite safe in many of those roads, as they often found it necessary to alight in places; and if they did not, a consciousness of the want of agility might well make them frequently tremble, and their attendants for them, of whom this clause seems to speak. *They shall be afraid* (tremble for them) *on account of what is high.*

Dr. Mead was not willing to allow that the next clause, *And the almond tree shall flourish*, was designed to express gray headedness, though it is very commonly so interpreted.

Dr. Mead objects to this explanation, among other things, that the colour of the flowers of the almond tree does not agree to a hoary head, as they are not white, but purple.* As to this, I would observe, that they are, ac-

* Medica Sacra, p. 44. Præterea, quod de amygdali floribus aiunt, huic rei minime convenire videtur, qui non album sed purpureum colorem exhibent.

cording to the account of others, white, with a purple tinge, so slight as to be whiter than a peach blossom;* and so as to lead Hasselquist, when describing the beauties of the spring about Smyrna, to tell us, that he found the almond tree, on the 14th of February, snow white with blossoms, adorning the rising grounds in the neighbourhood of that city.† If Hasselquist represented the almond trees as snow white, a writer of the age of Solomon may well be supposed to compare an hoary head to an almond tree in blossom, as the ancients, especially poets, are by no means exact in their describing colours; a general agreement satisfies them.‡

The hair of the Eastern people is almost universally dark;‖ an old man then, with a white head, appears, among those that are young, somewhat like an almond tree in blossom, among the dark unclothed twigs of other trees.

The Doctor's explaining it of the deadening the sense of smelling in the aged, is by no means natural.

Further: whether gray headedness be, or be not, what is emblematically called the flourishing of the almond tree, the gray headedness of the aged is frequently mentioned in the Scriptures, and therefore, one would think, would be hardly omitted in this description of Solomon. *I am old and gray headed*, said Samuel to Israel, when he was giving up the government of that people, 1 Sam. xii. 2; *With us are both the gray headed and very aged men, much elder than thy father*, said Eliphaz to Job, chap. xv. 10; *Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honor the face of the old man*, is a precept given by Moses to Israel, Lev. xix. 32.

Before I dismiss this article, I cannot but take notice of the explanation the lively and ingenious, but inaccurate,

* Lemery, Dict. des Drogues, Art. Amygdala. † Page 28.

‡ Thus even St. John represents our LORD as saying, *Look on the fields, for they are white already to harvest.* Others represent the corn then as of the colour of gold, and, rigidly speaking, it is undoubtedly more yellow than white.

‖ Russell, vol. i. p. 99.

Monsieur Voltaire gives of this clause of Solomon. He supposes it means *baldness*, in a poem of his, in which he pretends to give us the substance of this paragraph. "Quand l'amandier fleurira, (c'est à dire, quand la tête sera *chauve.*") Too often this witty and learned, but prejudiced writer, apparently misrepresents the Scriptures wilfully; here he might very probably be sincere: but it seems a very harsh mode of representing the stripping the head of that ornament that is so graceful, and which has appeared to be so in the eyes of the generality of people, as well as of Absalom,* by the almond tree's being covered with most beautiful blossoms, and appearing in its most highly ornamented state. This, in another writer, would be thought to look very much like a blunder, and would be considered as a strange want of taste or recollection.

To which is to be added, that though baldness is undoubtedly a frequent attendant on old age, it is hardly ever mentioned in the Scriptures in that view. It is taken notice of there in no fewer than ten or twelve places, but never, except possibly in one place, 2 Kings ii. 23, as a mark of age; it is, on the contrary, either spoken of as an effect of disease, or else the voluntary laying aside that ornament of the head, in token of affliction and mourning. So the Prophet Amos says,† *I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation; and I will bring up sackcloth upon all loins, and baldness upon every head; and I will make it as the mourning of an only son, and the end thereof as a bitter day.* How astonishing is it, that this man of genius should make baldness one of the circumstances of the bitterness of old age, which the Scriptures neither mention, nor is it, in fact, one of those things that render old age *days concerning which we are forced to say we have no pleasure in them!* And if it did, how odd to suppose baldness, or the loss of hair,

* 2 Sam. xiv. 25, 26.

† Chap. viii. 10.

was emblematically represented by the appearance of blossoms on an almond tree, when young leaves on a tree are so often compared to hair by the poets, and consequently, the coming on of blossoms on an almond tree must be understood to be the very reverse of baldness.

> Diffugere nives; redeunt jam gramina campis,
> *Arb oribusque comæ.*
>
> Hor. Carm. Lib. iv. Ode 7

Unluckily the thought does not appear in the translation of Francis:

> The snow dissolves, the field its verdure spreads,
> The trees high wave in air their *leafy* heads.

Nor in this translation of the 21st ode of the first book. Dauph. Ed.

> Vos lætam fluviis, et nemorum COMA,
> Quæcunque aut gelido prominet Algido,
> Nigris aut Erymanthi
> Sylvis, aut viridis Gragi.

This leads me to remark, that though Dr. Mead's reason against understanding the blossoming of the almond tree as an emblem of gray headedness, deduced from the colour of those blossoms, is not valid; yet it must be admitted, that what he says of gray headedness being consistent with vigorous and unailing old age, is very just; to which we may also add, that it is very untoward to suppose that the appearance of these blossoms, which marks out the finishing of the winter, the coming on of the spring, the pleasantest time of the year, and exhibits the tree in all its beauty, should be used to represent the approach of the winter of human life, followed by death, and a disappearing from the land of the living. Surely the one can hardly be intended to be descriptive of the other! and if not, some other explanation must be sought for; though this explanation seems very early to have

obtained, if we may judge from the translation of the Septuagint.

I am not willing however to admit the translation of this clause, which supposes that writer meant, to point out that kind of imbecility which attended the old age of David, according to what is said, 1 Kings i. 4.

Such an effect of age, in the view of an Asiatic prince, as we all know the writer of this book was, and who had himself a most numerous seraglio, may be supposed to be looked upon as one of the greatest bitternesses of old age; but in such a case the expression would neither be hieroglyphical nor distant enough.

If then we consider that watchers were often employed in royal houses, and mounted from time to time their place of observation, to see how matters stood abroad;* and on the other, that if we neglect the points, the Hebrew word שקד *shaked*, translated *almond tree*, may be translated *watcher*. I should think the clause may naturally enough be decyphered, by explaining it of the frequency of the attendance of physicians, who appear oftenest at court, and flourish most there, when the master of such a palace is in a very declining state, and drawing near to death. *Asa, in the thirty and ninth year of his reign, was diseased in his feet, until his disease was exceeding great; yet in his disease he sought not to the* LORD, *but to the physicians.*†

The function of a physician with regard to the body, and of a watchman with respect to a palace are not unlike; they both appear from time to time at court, but much more observable, as well as frequently, in seasons of apprehension and danger, than at other times.

To go on: When the book of Deuteronomy would inform us, that Moses, though 120 years old, appeared to have a vigour to the last, to which old age is, in common, a

* 2 Sam. xviii. 24; and still more in point, 2 Sam. xiii. 34.

† 2 Chron. xvi. 12.

stranger, it expresses this circumstance in the following terms: *His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated*, or, as the margin translates it more literally, according to the Hebrew, "nor the moisture fled," נס לחה ולא *velo nas lechoh.** Accordingly, I should think, that it is of this disappearing of moisture in old age, that the last clauses of this allegorical description of declining life are to be understood: *And the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail.* But as this does not immediately appear, the sentiment ought to be a little explained and illustrated.

In the first place, I would observe, that the word which is translated *natural force*, but which signifies *moisture*, is used to express the moistness of a living tree, or of a branch just pulled off, in opposition to a tree that is dead, or a branch that has been pulled off so long as to be dried, having lost its freshness and its leaves: so it is used to express the greenness of the withs by which Samson was bound;† and the freshness of the twigs Jacob peeled, and set before the cattle of Laban;‡ it occurs also in Ezek. xvii. 24, *And all the trees of the field shall know that I the* LORD *have brought down the high tree, have exalted the low tree, have dried up the green tree, and have made the dry tree to flourish;* and in like manner in some other passages.

In the next place it is to be remarked, that the learned have taken notice, and with justness, that the verb יסתבל *yistabel*, is improperly translated *shall be a burden;* it undoubtedly means, whatever may be the insect the royal preacher had in view here, that this insect should burden or load itself; should grow heavy by its feeding voraciously.

Thirdly. It seems that Solomon refers not to the grasshopper in this clause, but the locust; and our translators have so rendered the original word, חגב *chagab*, 2 Chron. vii. 13.

* Ch. xxxiv. 7. † Judges xvi. 7, 8. ‡ Gen. xxx. 37.

The insecteology of the Holy Land has not been examined with that accuracy, and to that extent that could be wished; but since GOD, in answer to that solemn prayer at the dedication of the temple, according to that passage of the book of Chronicles which I just now cited, declared, that if he should shut up heaven, that there would be no rain, or command those insects, that we are now inquiring about, to devour the land, or send a pestilence among the people; that if his people humbled themselves before him, he would be attentive to their prayers in that place, we cannot easily make any doubt of the word's meaning the locust, or wonder that our translators should so render the word in that passage.

For this declaration was made in answer to Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple: but his supplication was, that if the heaven should be shut up, and there should be no rain: or if there should be famine, if pestilence, blasting, mildew, locust, or catterpiller, that then GOD would hear them, when they should spread forth their hands toward that place; to which is to be added the consideration, that the grasshopper is an inoffensive animal, or at least not remarkably noxious, and by no means a proper subject for deprecation in the temple.

This circumstance also shows the *cicada*,* could not be meant by the Hebrew term here, as some of the curious have supposed; for though the noise they make is extremely disagreeable and disturbing, as Dr. Richard Chandler complains in his late Travels in Asia Minor,†

* An insect something like a grasshopper, and therefore the word *cicada* is often so translated, but considerably different from it, and unknown in England.

† The complaint this gentleman makes of them is, that they are extremely troublesome in the day time, making a very loud, ugly, screaking noise, as some affirm, with their wings; and that if one begins, others join, and the disagreeable concert becomes universal; and that after a dead pause, as it were on a signal, it commences again. Dr. Shaw, years ago, made much the same complaint, adding, that they are squalling some-

yet it is not an insect so distressing to them, as to allow us to imagine it was a subject of solemn prayer in the temple. The disturbing them in their noontide naps, and the devouring the fruits of the earth so as to occasion a famine, are evils of a very different magnitude.

As to what is said in the 12th of Ecclesiastes, it will easily be imagined, that their noise must be peculiarly disagreeable to many of the aged, who naturally love quiet, and are commonly unable to bear much noise: but as this quality of old age has been before pointed out, it would on that account be improper to explain this clause of the cicada; and much more so, as I have shown, from the answer of God to Solomon's dedicatory prayer, it is highly improbable that the Hebrew word here can mean the cicada, but it is very naturally understood of the locust.

Now what is the consequence of the coming of destructive flights of locusts? Those that came upon Egypt, Moses tells us, *did eat every herb and all the fruit of the trees, and there remained not any green thing in the trees, or in the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt.** Agreeably to which, le Bruyn tells us, that when he was at Rama, near Jerusalem, he was told there, that once they were so destructive, that in the space of two hours they eat up all the herbage round Rama, and that in the garden belonging to the house in which he lodged there, they eat the very stalks of the artichoke down to the ground.†

times two or three hours without ceasing; thereby too often disturbing the studies, or the short repose that is frequently indulged in these hot climates, at those hours he means, from mid day to the middle of the afternoon, in the hotter months of the summer. P. 186.

* Exod. x. 15.

† Tome ii. p. 152. This also may be of use to show, that the depredations of the locust might be not improperly mentioned in speaking of a house and its inhabitants: the great have not only their gardens sometimes adjoining to their houses, but various flowering shrubs in their courtyards, according to Dr. Russell, vol. i. p. 33.

If in the last place we recollect, that green fields and vineyards, which the locusts are described as devouring, are represented as objects of desire, *They shall lament for the pleasant fields, for the fruitful vine*, according to the margin, *the* fields of desire ;* again, *Ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them : ye have planted pleasant vineyards*, (or vineyards of desire,) *but ye shall not drink the wine of them ;*† we need not be at a loss to understand what is meant by the royal preacher, when, after having described the locust as growing heavy by its depredations, he adds, *and desire shall fail, i.e.* and every green thing shall disappear: to which state of things in the vegetable world, when every tree was *stripped of its leaves*, and looked as just dead, he compares the human body, which through age appears shrunk up, without moisture and ready to die.

Such appears to me to be an easy and popular way of explaining these emblematical representations of age: the circumstances pointed out are not those the knowledge of which arises from deep medical learning; but are obvious to the vulgar eye, and are mentioned with greater or less degrees of distinctness in the Scriptures. The emblems also representing them are derived from customs, occurrences, and the state of nature in the East; and I hope will appear sufficiently accommodated to the Oriental taste. How far such an explanation may appear admissible, I leave to the candour of the reader to determine.

But before I quit this part of the paragraph, I would just observe, that I am sensible a very ingenious writer supposes, that the first verse of this chapter refers to old age; but the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th, to some season of epidemic sickness, perhaps to a time in which the pestilence rages; and he illustrates this interpretation with a great deal of ingenuity and learning, at a considerable length.‡

* Isai. xxxii. 12. † Amos v. 11,

‡ Gentlemen's Magazine for July and August, 1752.

But as this mingling the description of old age, and of pestilential or other epidemic mortal diseases together, renders the subject too complex and intricate, on the one hand; and on the other, that he opposes the days of youth to this evil time that was to come, *Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth*, whereas, according to this writer he should rather have said, "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy health," I have thought it right to adhere to the common system, and suppose the whole is a description of old age; the 2d verse, of that time of life in general, its winter; and the three succeeding verses should be applied to particular circumstances, which are wont to attend in common the decline of life, some labouring under one complaint, and others under a different kind of bitterness. Nevertheless, it must undoubtedly be admitted, that it becomes the young, devoutly to remember GOD in the early part of life, not only on account of the sorrows that attend old age, but on account too of the terrors, that must be expected to come on the irreligious, in times of general sickness and mortality; and it ought to be acknowledged that he has illustrated his explanation with great ingenuity.

Nothing needs to be said by way of illustration of the latter part of the 5th verse, which may be considered as forming the third part of this remarkable paragraph of Solomon, since every one admits that a man's *long home* means the grave; and it has been elsewhere shown, that in mourning for the dead they went about the streets, or drew themselves into a circle as they lamented them in their procession in the streets.

OBSERVATION XIV.

FARTHER REMARKS ON SOLOMON'S PICTURE OF OLD AGE.

THE latter part of this description, the very ingenious Dr. Mead seems to have thought much more difficult to

explain than the preceding images, and indeed to be so extremely enigmatical, that nothing less than the penetration of an Oedipus could decypher it.* I cannot pretend to any such sagacity; but I should suppose, the considering this sixth verse as descriptive of the state of the corpse of a prince, after man is gone to his long home, and the mourners have gone about the streets, is an observation of great consequence to the due explanation of that part of this celebrated paragraph.

That he is speaking of the state of things between the interment of the body and its total dissolution, or return to its original earth, is, I think, sufficiently clear. The order in which he has ranged the particulars of the description, requires us to understand the words after this manner: first, he speaks of the infirmities attending old age; then the burial of the body, and the solemn mourning of survivors; then of what succeeds until it is dissolved, and becomes mingled with the earth from whence it was taken.

That it is the state of the corpse of a prince, after interment, that is described, not only agrees best with the quality of the writer, but the former part of the representation; for there he compares the body not to a common house, but a palace, where guards were posted, *(when the keepers of the house shall tremble;)* and musicians were in continual waiting, *and all the daughters of music shall be brought low.*

If it be the description of the state of the corpse of a prince, after its interment, decaying, and returning to its dust, it will not be disagreeable to introduce an attempt to explain the description, by placing before my reader the account Josephus gives of the state of King Herod's body, when carried out to burial. It is given us in the

* Quæ hactenus dicta sunt, difficillimos explicatus non habent. Tria autem, quæ concionem concludunt, incommoda revera sunt ænigmata, et Oedipi conjectoris indigent; qui tamen cum, saltem me judice, nondum repertus sit, ipse pro viribus ea solvere conabor.

17th book of his Jewish Antiquities, and to this purpose. Archelaus, being desirous to do honor to himself by burying his father Herod with great pomp, "the body was carried forth and laid upon a couch of gold, adorned with precious stones of great value, and of divers kinds. The mattress was purple, and it was wrapped up in vestments of the like colour, adorned with a diadem, a crown of gold placed above its head, and a sceptre was in its right hand. His sons and kindred surrounded the couch. His soldiers followed in due order. After them came five hundred servants carrying perfumes. In this order they marched to the place of interment."*

I do not at this moment recollect, that we have any account of his sepulchre's having been opened; but many royal tombs have, as well as others in which persons of great distinction have been laid. Some have been found casually; some have been designedly and respectfully uncovered, in order to give an opportunity to the curious to examine into the state of the dead body, and its habiliments, after having been interred hundreds of years, and been previously embalmed before burial, or undergone other operations designed to retard its dissolution, according to the different modes that have prevailed in different countries or different ages. So I think the tomb of Edward the first, in Westminster Abbey, was not long since opened for these purposes.

But the last account of this kind, on which I have cast my eye,† is that of a Tartarian prince, supposed to be a descendant of Genghiz-Khan, the founder of a very large empire, which at one time comprehended almost all Asia.‡ He is supposed to have been buried four or five hundred years, when the barrow‖ under which he was in-

* Vol. 1, p. 848, 849, ed. Havere. † Archæologia, vol. 2, art. 33, 34.

‡ Page 231.

‖ The tumulus, or artificial hill of earth or stones, under which sort of hills formerly in England the dead were buried, and of which many are still to be seen.

terred was opened,* by order of the Russian court, a few years ago.

The officer that was sent on this employment, we are told, "upon taking a survey of the numberless monuments of the dead spread over this great desert, concluded that the barrow of the largest dimensions most probably contained the remains of the prince, or chief. And he was not mistaken; for, after removing a very deep covering of earth and stones, the workmen came to three vaults constructed of stones, of rude workmanship, &c.

"That wherein the prince was deposited, which was in the centre, and the largest of the three, was easily distinguished by the sword, spear, bow, quiver and arrow, which lay behind him . . . . . The body of the prince was in a reclining posture, upon a sheet of pure gold, extending from head to foot; and another sheet of gold, of the like dimensions, was spread over him. He was wrapt in a rich mantle, bordered with gold, and studded with rubies and emeralds. His head, neck, breast, and arms naked, and without any ornament.

"In the lesser vault† lay the princess, distinguished by her female ornaments. She was placed reclining against the wall, with a gold chain of many links, set with rubies, round her neck, and gold bracelets round her arms. The head, breast and arms were naked. The body was covered with a rich robe, but without any border of gold or jewels, and was laid on a sheet of fine gold, and covered over with another. The four sheets of gold weighed 40 lbs. The robes of both looked fair and complete; but, upon touching, crumbled into dust."‡

The royal robes of Herod, in which Josephus tells us he was buried, in like manner, soon crumbled, without doubt, into dust; and to the effects on the spices and perfumes laid in the earth; the loss of their fragrancy which they must first undergo, and then their dissolution into earth too, one would be disposed to think Solomon re-

* Page 223.

† In the third, lay the prince's horse.

‡ Page 223, 224.

fers in the 6th verse in which he describes the events intervening between man's being conducted to his long home, verse 5, and the body's returning to the earth as it was, mentioned verse 7. There are four clauses in this 6th verse, which Dr. Mead reduces to three particulars, the pitcher's being broken at the fountain, and the wheel being broken at the cistern, plainly relating to one and the same thing, whatever it was; and as Dr. Mead reduced the four clauses to three particulars, I may be excused perhaps, in bringing them down to two; the destruction of the insignia of dignity; and the perfumes which were placed with the corpse in the sepulchre, becoming inodorous first, and afterward rotting, so as to be undistinguishable from common earth.

So the admonition will amount to this, Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, before the winter of life arrives; before the various complaints of old age take place, its blindness, deafness, &c. before thou art carried to the grave; before those effects appear that more immediately precede thy mingling with the earth, and thy becoming undistinguished from common dust; for hope in GOD can only cheer thee in the feeling, or the thinking of any of these circumstances.

The thought will readily be allowed to be agreeable, but the interpretation may be looked upon as arbitrary. Let me attempt to spread a little probability over it.

Herod was buried in royal robes; but purple vestments were not the only apparel worn by princes. When Herod Agrippa was struck with death, in the theatre of Cesarea, St. Luke tells us he was arrayed in royal apparel, and sitting upon his throne;* but Josephus, expressing more distinctly the meaning of this general term, informs us, that he was dressed in a vestment all of silver, of admirable texture, and that going early into the theatre, the rays of the rising sun created such a splendour, as that some flatterers took occasion from thence to salute him as more than a mortal.†

* Acts xii. 21. † Antiq. lib. 19, cap. 8, sect. 2.

There might be something particularly curious in the workmanship of this robe, but the interweaving threads of precious metal, along with other materials, was at least as ancient as the days of Moses, and Solomon must have seen the vestment, or one exactly like it that Moses was directed to make, for the high priests to wear on particular solemn occasions. "He made the ephod of gold, blue and purple, and scarlet and fine twined linen. And they did beat the gold into thin plates, and cut it into wires, to work it in the blue, and in the purple, and in the scarlet, and in the fine linen, with cunning work. And the curious girdle of his ephod, that was upon it, was of the same, according to the work thereof; of gold, blue, &c."* If gold was thus interwoven, every one must allow that silver might, after the same manner.

And as the Arabs of the Holy Land now wear girdles embroidered with gold, or of gold and silver tissue,† it cannot be pretended, that it is incredible that such were in use in the days of Solomon, who was so remarkable for magnificence.

Farther, it appears from John xi. that whatever the ancient Jews were buried in, whether a winding sheet, or in some of their best garments, they were not merely wrapped loosely about them, but fastened with proper bandages; for when our LORD called Lazarus to come forth from the grave, he came forth, it is said, *bound hand and foot with grave clothes: and his face was bound about with a napkin,* JESUS *said unto them, Loose him and let him go.*‡

What length of bandage was applied by the ancient Jews at their death, we are no where, that I know of, told: nor are we informed, how it fastened the sepulchral vestment close to the dead body. As to the old Egyptians, we know that they made use of a vast length of filletting, and the arms, legs, and trunk, were all covered

* Exod. xxxix. 2, 3, 5.

† Voy. dans la Pal. par. M. de la Roque, chap. 16. ‡ Verse 44.

over and over again with it. And though Mr. Wood, with all his care, and all his offers, could not procure a whole Palmyrene mummy,* yet, from the fragments he found, he was able to pronounce their way of embalming was perfectly like that of the Egyptians. But the manner of applying bandages to a Jewish corpse is not known; however, it is certain, from what is said of Lazarus, they were not wrapped in their grave clothes loosely, but bound up in them by a bandage, so as to confine them hand and foot.

This bandage, I suppose, is meant by the *silver cord* here. A robe of cloth of silver was worn by Herod Agrippa in life, suiting his royal dignity: and a bandage resembling modern Eastern girdles, a bandage of silver and fine linen, might be employed to swathe deceased princes, in or before the time of Solomon. But after a few centuries, these bandages, like the robes of the Tartar prince, by the effluvia of the enveloped body and of the surrounding earth, would be unable to keep the burial clothes in a proper position, would decay, would lose their hold, would crumble to dust. Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, for the grave is thy long home, and all the magnificence of sepulchral habits, on which thou mayest vainly set thy mind, as some softening to the horrors of that abode, will fade, will vanish away :† it is the resemblance of the power, the goodness, the faithfulness of thy Creator, that gave life at first, and who can raise the dead, that only can give comfort to the wise man, when he thinks of that state through which he must pass.

If this explanation be admitted, the second clause will not be difficult, being in course to be understood of the diadem, the fillet or cap of honor which the Eastern

* Ruins of Palmyra, page 22.

† An apocryphal writer seems to have had a thought of this kind in view, when he compares an idol "to a dead body that is cast into the dark. And you shall know them to be no gods by the bright purple that rotteth upon them," &c. Baruch vi. 71, 72.

princes wore upon their heads, and in one of which the head of Herod was enclosed, when he was carried to burial, according to Josephus.*

A diadem, into whose texture gold thread was wrought, was equally liable to be rotted with silver bandages that held the vestments of the head in proper order.

Our translators render the Hebrew word גלת *gullath*, *bowl*, "or the golden bowl be broken;" but as the word is derived from a root which signifies to *roll round*, and from which is derived the word that signifies a book in the form of a roll, it may be understood of what was worn upon, or rolled about the head, by people of high distinction.

But it may appear more difficult to make out what connexion there can be supposed to be between a sepulchre, or the state of a body decaying in it, and a broken pitcher or fractured water wheel. It must be allowed to be a difficulty. But when it is remembered, that pitchers and wheels were made use of for watering gardens, on the one hand; and on the other, that the Eastern sepulchres are frequently adorned with sweet smelling herbs and flowers, as well as rendered less disgustful to the senses by perfumes, and being anointed with fragrant oils, and anciently by large quantities of spices and odoriferous substances deposited in them: the representing the disappearing of these matters in a long neglected sepulchral edifice or cave, where the body is nearly reduced to dust, by the image of a broken pitcher, or water wheel, may not appear to be so remote from Oriental managements, as to be more unnatural than some other expositions which have been proposed, or patronized, by the learned.

But this, which I would propose as what may be a probable solution of these words of this enigmatical paragraph, requires to be set forth more distinctly.

* Who tells us the crown of solid gold was placed higher than his head; the diadem, another royal ornament, wrapped about it.

Many authors have given an account of the covering the graves of the dead, among the Greeks and Romans of former times, with fragrant leaves and flowers; and some have observed that it obtains in more Eastern and Southern countries. The Turks sometimes practise it, as I have elsewhere shown, the room of Ali Dey, in Barbary, being decorated, for forty days successively, with flowers, and surrounded with people praying for him; but what is more, Dr. Shaw, has remarked,* that their burial places are adorned with flowers planted in them and growing as in a garden, as I had occasion to remark under a preceding Observation. I have met with similar accounts elsewhere.†

We shall not after this account, wonder at some articles in d'Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale, in which he tells us, that the place in which is the tomb of the Iman Riza, is called the odoriferous Garden;‡ that the place in which Mohammed the great Prophet lies interred is called, by way of eminence, the Flowery Meadow, or the Garden;‖ to which is to be added what he says under the article *racudhah*, in which he tells us, that this word, which signifies in Arabic a garden, or meadow full of flowers, is often used by Mussulmen for the sepulchre of some person celebrated for his learning or piety: for in fact such burial places are often a sort of gardens.

If they are gardens, they must in that dry country frequently want watering. Accordingly, the Prophet Isaiah compares the state of a people given up to destruction and desolation, to that of an oak whose leaf faded, and that of a garden that had no water § A sepulchre garden then must want watering, as well as others: and accordingly, I well remember to have read an account of the carrying water to water those flowers, &c. that were planted in the burial places, though I cannot at this time recollect the

* Page 219. † See Rauwolff, in particular, p. 46.

‡ Art. Ali ben Moussa al Kadhem. ‖ Art. Medinah. § Isaiah i. 30.

author; as well of others that carry fresh flowers and leaves, from time to time, to the tombs of their dead relations and friends, to replace those they had before left there, which having been separated from the roots on which they grew, of course soon fade and decay.

The Jews, in like manner, in ancient times were fond of making their burial places smell agreeably. It was their manner, St. John tells us, to bury their dead with perfumes, John xix. 40; and for the same reason, in places planted with flowers and sweet smelling herbs, or gardens. So we find Joseph of Arimathea had prepared a tomb for himself in a garden,* in which our LORD was buried; so we find king Manasseh was buried in a garden,† the garden of his own house, which the author of the 2d book of Chronicles expresses by the phrase of burying him in his own house.‡ According to this, Joab was buried too in a garden, for he is said to have been buried in his own house in the wilderness, 1 Kings ii. 34. But whether the place in which Joab was buried was a garden or not, it is certain that of king Amon was, 2 Kings xxi. 26, as well as where king Manasseh was laid.

Agreeably to this we find, in Dean Addison's account of the Jews of Barbary,|| that they there adorn the graves of their dead in much the same manner as do their Mohammedan neighbours, of which I was giving an account from Dr. Shaw, in a preceding page; for though he could find no inscriptions or epitaphs in their burial place, which he supposed arose from the poverty of the Jews of Barbary, yet he found boughs set about their graves.

The breaking then of the pitcher at the fountain, and the fracturing of the water wheel, which sort of machine was in such general use for the keeping up the verdure and the fragrancy of their gardens, may naturally enough express the neglect into which a sepulchre in a long series of years must be expected to fall, when, instead of flowers,

* John xix. 41. † 2 Kings xxi. 18. ‡ Ch. xxxiii. 20. || Page 220, 221.

nothing perhaps but barren sand would be found there, and even the scent of those rich perfumes, in a bed of which the body might be laid, be lost, the spices becoming rotten, and crumbled to dust, the gums dissolved and gone, and desolation and neglect in absolute possession.

"Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, before the winter of old age be come on; before its numerous complaints have taken place; before thou shalt be carried to thy long home; before the vestments of death be decayed, the perfume of the grave vanished, and thy body be turned to dust: for nothing but hope in GOD can support the soul when struggling with disease; can disarm the king of terrors in his approach; can enable thee to reflect on the solitude, the corruption, the dereliction of the grave, and its being demolished, and its place no more known. For even then the Giver of life, thy Creator, can bring thee back into view, and, raising thee from the dead, make thee a partaker of immortality."

The description from first to last, is highly figurative, but it is to be hoped not as unintelligible as Egyptian hieroglyphics are wont to be. That the intention of Solomon was to represent old age as the winter of human life in the first place; then emblematically to set forth its complaints; and then, after having spoken of the mourning for the dead, at the time of their departure, to represent the mouldering of the body until its being reduced to dust, are points that seem to be pretty plain and determinate.*

* Thus far Mr. HARMER; and I suppose there is scarcely a man in the nation who knows any thing of the structure of the human body, that will hesitate for a moment to give a decided preference to the elegant illustration given by Dr. Mead of the words of Solomon. EDIT.

OBSERVATION XV.

OF THEIR DISCOURSES, TALES, &c. IN THEIR PUBLIC ASSEMBLIES.

To what has been said of Eastern books, may naturally be subjoined some account of the discourses that have been pronounced there in assemblies of ingenious, or at least inquisitive men, which have not unfrequently given birth to those writings that have been greatly celebrated among them. Such assemblies have certainly been held in these countries of later time; and to such held in his time, Solomon seems to have referred in the 12th chapter of Ecclesiastes, his words in the 11th verse of that chapter being these: *The words of the wise are as goads, and as nails fastened by the master of assemblies, which are given from one shepherd.*

If we suppose that he is speaking of assemblies of men, and not of collections of stones, cemented and joined together to form magnificent structures, to what assemblies is it most probable that he refers? Not surely those gathered together in the Temple, for they were for sacrificing and singing the divine praises; not those in their Synagogue, for the discourses there were not of the nature of this book of Solomon's, being such as arose from the reading the law and the Prophets, nor for the same reason, those that might be pronounced in their colleges, or their schools of the Prophet as they have been more commonly called, for these, we have reason to believe, consisted of regular and stated disquisitions relating to their law, and possibly sometimes explanations of the Prophets: it would best answer the circumstances in which Solomon wrote, and the nature of this book of Ecclesiastes,* if we under-

* Dropping the consideration of its being the production of inspiration.

stand him of discourses in assemblies of inquisitive and curious men, held occasionally, and founded on the general principle of reason and experience, in a word, discourses of an eloquent and philosophical nature.

That there have been such assemblies in these countries, since the time of Solomon, is the first thing to be made out here.

Macamat, according to d'Herbelot, signifies assemblies and conversations, pieces of eloquence or academical discourses, pronounced in assemblies of men of letters. This way of reciting compositions in prose and verse has been as frequent among the Orientals, as it was anciently among the Romans, and as it is now in our academies. The Arabians have many books containing discourses of this kind, which are looked upon by them as masterpieces of eloquence. Hamadani was the first that published such pieces, and his work is entitled, *Discourses of the most eloquent Man of his Age*, for he was looked on as a miracle of eloquence. Hariri imitated him, and, in the opinion of many, excelled him, insomuch that the most learned of the Arabian grammarians said, that his work ought not to be written but on silk. These discourses derive their names from the places where they were pronounced, the first being marked out by its being delivered at Sanaa, the capital of Yemen; and the last, which is the 50th, bears the name of Bassora, a city of Chaldæa, situated near the mouth of the Tigris.*

They differ then from the academical discourses of France, which are pronounced before societies of learned and ingenious men, who regularly assemble together at certain times; whereas these Eastern assemblies are supposed to be people gathered together occasionally, without any particular connexion, and brought together from

* Professor Chappelow, of Cambridge, has translated six of these discourses of Hariri into English, which he has entitled, *Assemblies*, or ingenious conversations of learned men among the Arabians, upon a great variety of useful and entertaining subjects.

a desire to hear some celebrated speaker, who is disposed to discourse to as many as are willing to hear him in his peregrinations from place to place, or to hold conversation among themselves.

But there have been other discourses of this kind, pronounced in more elevated auditories, but still occasionally collected together, and not properly associated, of which d'Herbelot has made mention in the article of *Amak*, where he gives us the names of three princes, who were great lovers of learning, and particularly of the Persian poetry, which led them to endeavour, with a spirit of rivalship to engage the most excellent poets of that age, which were then very numerous, to reside at their respective courts. *Khedher Khan*, who surpassed the other two in power, outdid them also in magnificence, for he was wont to hold a kind of academy, where he assisted in person, sitting upon a raised part of the floor, at the foot of which were placed four great basins, full of gold and silver coin, which he distributed among his poets according to the merit of their compositions.

He afterward tells us, that the number of these learned men of signal merit, and who accompanied him every where, striving with emulation to convey instruction to his mind by their conversations, or to animate him to glory by their eulogiums, was commonly about an hundred, to whom he gave very considerable pensions, and then mentions the names of ten of the most illustrious of them, among whom *Raschidi* seems to have been the most eminent, who, after some time, was a competitor with *Amak*, who had brought most of these eminent men under the notice of the Sultan, and was as their chief and president, and distinguished by the superiority of his appointments, or of the presents that were made him, being possessed of a great number of slaves, of both sexes, and having thirty led horses richly harnessed, which excited the envy of the rest, and particularly of Raschidi, who at length found means to supplant him.

In another article* speaking of the same Raschidi, but a little varying the manner of spelling his name, he describes him as living in the court of Atsiz, another Eastern prince: he tells us, this prince was often wont to assemble an academy of men of genius, in order to hold conferences on matters of learning, and on the belles lettres.

These eleven eminent personages, mentioned under the article *Amac*, and particularly *Amac* and *Raschidi*, might very properly be called in the Eastern style, *masters*, or rather *lords of assemblies*, as the word, strictly taken, signifies in Eccles. xii. 11, that is, persons that distinguished themselves by the superiority of their composition, on whom the eyes of all that heard them were attentively fixed, and who conveyed exquisite instruction and pleasure to the mind by their words. Agreeably to this, we find Joseph called the master, or lord of dreams, in the Hebrew, Gen. xxxvii. 19; so Exodus xxiv. 14, what is expressed in our translation, a *man that has matters to do*, is in the original בעל דברום *baal debareem*, a *lord of words*; so a bird is called a *lord of the wing*, Prov. i. 17. The collections of d'Herbelot prove, that the like form of speech still prevails in those countries; for he tells us the word *saheb* signifies the master, author, or possessor of a thing. So *saheb al Sihah* means the lord or author of Sihah, the name of an Arabic dictionary; and *saheb al Camous*, the master or lord of Camous, the name of another dictionary in that language.† So *saheb Asea*, or *saheb al Assa*, the master or lord of the Rod, is the title the Mussulmen commonly give to Moses; as to Jonah, *saheb al Noun*, the lord or man of the Fish.‡

Traces of such assemblies, of the occasional kind, in the time of Solomon, seem to appear, I think, in the Old Testament. *Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East country, and all the wisdom of Egypt: for he was wiser than all men; than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, and Chalcol, and Darda, the*

*. Reschidi, p. 715. † Page 733. ‡ Page 734.

sons of Mahol; and his fame was in all nations round about. 1 Kings iv. 30, 31. Now if we consider the scarceness of books, and trouble of copying them out, on one hand, and on the other, the management of the queen of Sheba, who did not content herself with reading the writings of Solomon, but came from a great distance, to converse personally with him, and to prove him with hard questions, 1 Kings x. 1, 3, 4, 8; it is most natural to suppose, the wisdom of the East country, and of Egypt, was rather known by their discourses and conversation in assemblies of people occasionally drawn together, at which strangers, those more especially who travelled professedly in quest of wisdom, attended from time to time, who might also in some cases apply alone, without any concern of the natives, to celebrate personages to hear their discourses as the queen of Sheba did.

Such an explanation, I think, best suits the nature of this philosophical discourse of Solomon's, which, perhaps, would not have been very proper in a Jewish synagogue, if we could suppose Solomon to have officiated as a common teacher here. The assemblies there seem to have been more like the princely conventions d'Herbelot mentions, in which the speakers sought out acceptable words, and examined different schemes of philosophy. If so, the word shepherd, which is sometimes equivalent to that of teacher,* in which sense it is to be understood here, means GOD, the Father of lights, from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift; not Moses, as some have understood that clause, for the books of Moses are not cited in all this disquisition of Solomon.†

* So it is said Jer. iii. 25, *And I will give you pastors*, another word for shepherds, *according to mine own heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding.*

† Assemblies of this kind are still common in the East, but they are chiefly confined to the reciting of tales, stories, &c. one man entertaining the rest with wonderful relations, such as those in the Arabian Nights. The Odes of Hafez are often recited at such meetings. A similar practice obtains among the aboriginal inhabitants of Ireland; whole families

CHAP. IX.

OBSERVATIONS RELATING TO THE NATURAL, CIVIL, AND MILITARY STATE OF JUDEA.

OBSERVATION I.

OF WATER SPOUTS ON THE SYRIAN AND JEWISH COASTS.

NATURAL philosophers often make mention of water spouts, which are most surprising appearances; but hardly any of the commentators, that I have observed, speak of them, though our translators have used the term, Psalm xlii. 7, and the Psalmist seems to be directly describing those phænomena, and painting a storm at sea. And none of them, I think, take notice of the frequency of water spouts on the Jewish coasts, and consequently that it was natural for a Jewish poet to mention them, in the description of a violent and dangerous storm.

That this however is the fact, we learn from Dr. Shaw, who tells us, that water spouts are more frequent near the capes of Latikea, Greego, and Carmel, than in any other part of the Mediterranean.* These are all places on the coast of Syria, and the last of them every body knows in Judea, it being a place rendered famous by the prayers of the Prophet Elijah. The Jews then could not be ignorant of what frequently happened on their coasts, and David must have known of these dangers of the sea, if he

meet frequently during the winter at each other's houses, and listen to *the Tales of other times*, which many of the old people relate with admirable address and effect. Tales similar to those in Ossian, are often the subjects of entertainment on these occasions. EDIT.

* Page 338.

had not actually seen some of them, as Dr. Shaw did. Strange then! since this is this case, that commentators should speak af these water spouts as only meaning vehement rains;* or that any should imagine that he compares his afflictions to the pouring of water through the spouts of a house, as Bythner seems to do in his Lyra, when they have nothing to do with a storm at sea, which the Psalmist is evidently describing.

Others have remarked that these spouts are often seen in the Mediterranean, but I do not remember to have seen it any where remarked, before I read Dr. Shaw, that they are more frequent on the Syrian and Jewish coasts, than any other part of this sea; and as the Doctor has not applied the observation to the explaining any part of Scripture, I thought it was right to take notice of it in these papers, and as it belongs to the natural history of Judea, it comes into this chapter.

OBSERVATION II.

CURIOUS REMARKS ON THE BROOK KIDRON.

It is not at all to be wondered at, that the torrent Kidron was dry in November 1774, though that was a rainy month at Jerusalem that year,† since, if the ground remained so dry, from the summer's drought, as to take in the rain as fast as it descended, there could be no water found running in the bed of a torrent.

The gentleman that favoured me with some account of the Holy Land, which he visited in 1774, particularly remarked, that the Kidron was dry, when he was at Jerusalem, in November that year, though that month was, he understood, wetter than that month usually is there. But he observed that the rain was not at that time in very large quantities, or without intermission.

* Vide Poli Syn. in loc. † See a preceeding Observation.

The bridge is a sure proof there is sometimes a considerable stream in that place, as well as the verbal testimony of the inhabitants, by whom this gentleman was told, that the run of water there was almost constant through the winter, and early in the spring. He added, that though it was dry when he saw it, there were evident signs of the passage of water in its channel.

The writer of these observations lives near a water course, which is about half the size of the Kidron, according to the account of le Bruyn,* or somewhat more, and, like that, has no water but what descends from the clouds: he has often been surprised to find no water running in its channel after considerable rains, when at other times the streams have been very violent, and the trustees for the road which it crosses, and which has lately had turnpipes erected upon it, have thought proper of late to build a substantial brick bridge over it, which foot passengers before passed by a bridge consisting of a couple of planks. The running of the water has been found to depend very much on the earth's being saturated with moisture, and particularly on the sudden dissolution of snow. It is no wonder then to find the channel of Kidron dry in autumn, or when the spring is far advanced.

It may have frequently appeared strange to many readers, that all the travellers they have consulted have found the Kidron dry: but it is to be remembered that those who have published such journals, were not in the Holy Land in winter. The people of Jerusalem, in 1774, affirmed to the gentleman whose account I have been giving, that the water runs there in winter; and, answerable to this, I have been assured by the author of the history of the revolt of Ali Bey, and who lived, I think, some years in that country, that he has seen the water run in the channel of the Kidron.

* He tells us, in his second tome, chap. 48, that it is not above three paces broad, which, I take it, means about fifteen feet. It was dry when he was at Jerusalem in the year 1681, from the middle of October to the middle of November.

OBSERVATION III.

REMARKS ON THE PLAIN WHERE SODOM AND GOMORRHA STOOD.

THE description that is given us of some well watered places in the East of late times, may, I think, serve to enliven our apprehensions of the fruitfulness and the beauty of the plain where Sodom and Gomorrha stood, before GOD destroyed those wretched cities.*

That plain is compared to Eden, and to Egypt, in that part of it near to Zoar. But we know not distinctly what Eden was; nor do we now know precisely the nature of that part of Egypt near Zoar, as distinguished from the rest of that celebrated country, which might be very well known to the first readers of the books of Moses, and for some ages afterward, and enable them to form a more lively idea of the nature of the plain of Sodom, and of Eden, the garden of GOD, than those could do who died but a few generations ago.

The description that Sir J. Chardin has given us, of one of the well watered places which he observed in the East, may, possibly, produce something of this effect. It is in the south of Persia, and is called *Mayn*, which it seems signifies a fish, and was so named, "on account of their abundance there at certain times of the year. It is a most delicious place. Rivulets of the best and most beautiful water in the world run there, and so copiously, as that for seven or eight months the country seems in a manner under an inundation, and its territory is above two leagues round. It is full of gardens, which produce the most excellent fruits, and especially grapes and pome-

* Gen. xiii. 10. Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered every where, before the LORD destroyed Sodom and Gomorrha, even as the garden of the LORD, like the land of Egypt as thou comest unto Zoar.

granates."* He adds afterward, in the next page, that it is near this place that some Persian authors suppose the country and habitation of Job was. That this appeared in no wise absurd to him, there being there abundance of sheep, horses, oxen, and asses, in which the principal part of the riches of Job consisted, according to the account given in his history, which cannot be equally affirmed of all the other places pretended to be the land of Uz.

If this is the description of what the territory of Mayn now is, and what the plain of Sodom formerly was, that plain must have been intersected with many canals, and at times, at least, full of fish; must have abounded in fruit; have had the richest pastures; and been a most delightful district. But instead of being two leagues round, it must have been vastly larger, if all that the sea now covers was then a fruitful country, for Maundrell tells us, that sea is twenty four leagues long, and six or seven broad.† How large a territory this! as well as how delicious! And something like this, but superior in delectableness, Eden, the habitation of our first parents, seems to have been. It is no wonder that Lot, when allowed to choose, chose this fruitful country, so rich in its pasturage. Gen. xiii. 10.

The evaporation of the water of this sea, seems to be equal, or nearly equal now, to the waters that run into it. It might be so anciently; for though the surface of the water in those numerous canals could not be equal to that of the Dead Sea, yet the perspiration of the numerous plants, &c. might produce a balance. Though the river Barrady, according to Maundrell, is not quite so broad as Jordan,‡ it comes pouring down from the mountains with great rapidity, and brings a vast body of water, and

* Tome 3, p. 97. † Page 84, ed 5.

‡ Jordan is about twenty yards over, according to Maundrell, p. 83; Barrady not so much, he says, as twenty yards, p. 121: but the mode of expression intimates not much less.

yet is all nearly consumed by the gardens and the inhabitants of Damascus;* the waters then of the Jordan, and the other small rivers that run into it, might very well have been dissipated by the inhabitants and vegetables of this large district.

But however rich the pastures of Mayn may be, it does by no means follow that Job resided there, any more than that Abraham, who was very rich in cattle, as well as in silver and gold, Gen. xiii. 2, resided in the plain of Jordan. There were and are many places fit for feeding cattle : it is surprising then, that a man of Chardin's penetration should so far countenance this Persian notion. The land of Uz lay certainly far from Persia, in or near Edom.

OBSERVATION IV.

OF HEDGES IN THE EAST.

Our living fences of white thorn have been much admired, and I think there have been endeavours to introduce such into some of the northern parts of Europe, particularly Sweden ; some of those in the Holy Land, in later times, have been equally beautiful, or more so, and perfectly answer those passages of the old Jewish prophets, that speak of hedges made of thorny plants, and the sharpness of the thorns of those that were then in use.

So Doubdan tells us, that a very fruitful vineyard, full of olive and fig trees, as well as vines, which he found about eight miles southwest from Bethlehem, was enclosed with a hedge, and that he found that part of it adjoining to the road strongly formed of thorns and rose bushes, intermingled with pomegranate trees, the most pleasant in the world.†

* Page 123.

† Voy. de la Terre-Sainte, p. 154, 155.

A hedge, in which were many rose bushes and pomegranate shrubs, of the wild kind, then in full flower, mingled with other thorny plants, must have made a strong fence, and extremely beautiful. The wild pomegranate tree, of which kind those used in fencing must, I presume, have been, is much more prickly, we are told, than the other species.* And when mingled with other thorny bushes, of which they have several kinds in the Holy Land, some whose prickles are very long, strong, and sharp, must have made a hedge very difficult to break through, as the Prophets suppose.

I will hedge up thy way with thorns, and make a wall, that she shall not find her paths, Hos. ii. 6. *The way of a slothful man is as a hedge of thorns*, Prov. xv. 19. *The most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge*, Mich. vii. 4.

This account, by Doubdan, of a modern thorn hedge, in the Holy Land, may give us some idea of one there in ancient days; at least it may be considered as amusing.

The same writer, I have observed, makes mention of other enclosed lands being surrounded with walls of loose† stones. Such, among others, is the place near Bethlehem, where it is supposed the angels appeared to the shepherds at the time of the birth of our LORD,‡ but which is now arable land, and which he tells is enclosed with a little wall of loose stones, very low, and at present almost demolished.‖ He mentions a like wall of loose stones, without cement, in another place.§ Is it any wonder that a building of this kind, so full of chinks, should be represented by Solomon as frequently a receptacle of venomous animals? *He that diggeth a pit shall fall into it; and whoso breaketh a hedge*, (it should have been a wall) *a serpent shall bite him*, Eccl. x. 8.

*Voy. Dict. des Drogues. par Lemery, art. Punica. † Pierres seches.

‡ Luke ii. 8. ‖ Page 146. § Page 108.

Our translators themselves, in another place of the writings of Solomon, connect this term with the word stone, which indeed the original words force them to do; but that very necessity should have made them elsewhere translate the word by the term wall, not hedge: *I went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding; and lo, it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken down*, Prov. xxiv. 30, 31.

It seems it was anciently, as it is now, in general, an unenclosed country; but however there were several spots fenced in, sometimes by a hedge, often composed of thorny plants; sometimes by stone walls, built without any cement to strengthen them.

But the most extraordinary fence, to an European eye, must be such as those de Tott mentions, observed by him in the low lands of Judea,* for he went no further but from Juff, or Joppa, to Rames, commonly called Rama. Of this part of that country, he gives the following account. "The space between the sea and the mountain is a flat country, about six leagues in breadth, extremely fertile. The fig tree of India† supplies it with hedges, and furnishes impenetrable barriers, which secure the fields of the different proprietors. Cotton is here the principal branch of commerce, and the industry of the inhabitants employs itself in spinning. This part of the

* Memoirs, part 4, p. 93.

† "This plant," he tells us in a note, "is also called *Racket*: by which the French mean the opuntia, called by Dr. Shaw, in his Travels, p. 145, the prickly pear, upon which the Doctor tells us several families live, during the months of August and September: but he says nothing of its being used for hedges. He remarks, that "it is never known to tinge the urine of a bloody colour, as it does in America, from whence this fruit originally came." On this I would observe, that if the first knowledge of the plant was derived from America, no passage of the Scripture account of hedges can be illustrated by what we now know of this plant. It can have been but lately introduced into Judea.

Holy Land is very remarkable for the remains of the Crusades, with which it is covered."

OBSERVATION V.

OF THE ROSES AND BALSAM OF JERICHO.

THE roses of Jericho are a curiosity frequently brought from the Holy Land; and I saw one in the hands of the gentleman that visited that country in 1774, and who showed me the effect the putting the lower part of it into water produced; but they that gave this name to that plant, certainly could not design the illustration of that passage of Ecclesiasticus, in which he speaks of Wisdom's being *exalted like a palm tree in Engaddi, and as a rose plant in Jericho,** since it is a very low plant, and of no remarkable beauty, colour, or sweet scent, and the production oftentimes of a desert.

A medical writer has described them as a very small shrub, about four fingers high, woody, full of branches, appearing like a small globe, of an ash colour, its leaves and its flowers small, &c.† How such a plant came to be called a rose, is not easy to guess; nor do I remember to have found in any writer when it was first so denominated. probably it was in times of superstition it was so distinguished, and owed its name to that cause. What I have said makes it proper to set down Thevenot's account of this plant here.‡

"In the plain of Jericho, there are roses of Jericho, as they call them, but they have not the virtues that many ascribe to them, for they blow not unless they be put into water, and they blow in all seasons, and at any hour, contrary to the opinion of those who say, that they blow not

* Ch. xxiv. 14. † Lemery, Dict. des Drogues, art. Rosa Hiericontea.

‡ Part 1, book 2, chap. 41.

but in Christmas night; and others, on all the festival days of our Lady; with a great many such idle tales. I found of them also in the desert of Mount Sinai."

It is particularly untoward that this low plant should be called the rose of Jericho, when this ancient Jewish writer, in describing the superiority of Jewish theological wisdom to that of other nations, describes it as exalting its head as the most lofty trees of that country, in the respective districts in which they grew: the cedar in Lebanon; the rose bush in Jericho.

Much of the plain of Jericho is now a sandy waste; but in the happier days of that country, it was celebrated for its fruitfulness, and the preciousness of some of its vegetable productions. In that rich soil, and that favourable temperature, the real rose bush must far have overtopped the shrubs that produced the celebrated balm of Jericho. I have seen a rose bush rise up to the eaves of a house, and I apprehend not less than fifteen or sixteen feet high, here in England, and might therefore be very commonly of that height in the plain of Jericho; but, according to Maillet, the shrub that produced the celebrated balm, which rendered Jericho so famous in the days of antiquity, and was afterward transplanted into Egypt, and nursed there with great attention and care, though now lost to Egypt as before to Judea, was a very low plant. "It was in the garden of Matarea," says Maillet, "that the famous balm was produced, which entered into the composition of the chrism, which the Coptic church made use of in the baptism of infants, and its species now absolutely lost. It is not, however, quite 200 years since, some stems of it were in a little enclosed place of this garden, where a bashaw of Egypt had placed them, persuaded that this precious shrub deserved a very particular attention. These stems were then not above a foot high, and about the thickness of an inch. Accordingly they say, that the

shrubs that produce balm never grow larger, and their height never exceeds two or three cubits."*

Amidst these valuable plants, how towering must the rose plant in so rich a soil have appeared! probably considerably superior to those that grew in most other places of Judea.

The whole passage in Ecclesiasticus deserves to be transcribed and considered, especially as there are some remarkable variations between the Greek and Latin copies. "I was exalted like a cedar in Libanus, and as a cypress tree upon the mountains of Hermon. I was exalted like a palm tree in En-gaddi," (some copies read on the sea shores,) "and as a rose plant in Jericho, as a fair olive tree in a pleasant field, and grew up as a palm tree by the water. . . . As the turpentine tree I stretched out my branches, and my branches are the branches of honor and grace. As the vine brought pleasant savour, and my flowers are the fruit of honor and riches." Verses 13, 14, 16, 17.

* Let 3, p. 111, 112. If any of my readers has a mind to see the further description of this noble shrub, it is as follows. "Out of this feeble trunk, spring many very slender branches, ornamented with leaves of a most beautiful green, nearly resembling those of rue, which grow in uneven numbers on each branch. The trunk is covered with a double bark. The first of a reddish colour; the inner one was much thinner, and entirely green. These two barks seem to the taste much like incense and turpentine; bruised between the fingers they smell like cardamoms. The wood underneath was white, and had no more taste or smell than common wood. What was remarkable in this shrub was, that they were obliged to cut it every year in the same manner as the vine. Perhaps it was at that time that they gathered that precious liquor, which in former days was so much celebrated" But though not to be found now in Egypt any more than in Judea, yet it remains in Arabia, if it is the same that produces the Mecca balsam, which, though scarce and costly, is sent in pots to Constantinople, and other places of the Turkish empire. Niebuhr however tells us, in the 2d tome of his Travels, p. 280, that one of his associates found this plant in flower the 4th of April, and had the pleasure of writing a description of the tree under its shade: and that it was said to grow in great abundance in Yemen, the southern part of Arabia, and that the people there make no other use of it but for burning, on account of its sweet scent. This shrub, according to Niebuhr, grows to a much more considerable height, than it seems to have done in Egypt, and therefore probably in the plain of Jericho.

The vulgar Latin of Sixtus V. has these variations: "I was exalted as the cedar, &c. . . . . and as a cypress tree in Mount Sion. I was exalted like a palm tree in Cades. . . . I was exalted as a plane tree by the water in the streets," &c.

Here I would remark, in the first place, that all these trees are still found in the Holy Land and Libanus: the cedar, the cypress, the palm, the rose bush, the olive, the plane, the turpentine tree, and the vine; and that the son of Sirach selected them from the rest, on the account of their height, their spread, their beauty, and their sweet scent, mentioning the districts where they were found most to flourish.

Secondly. When the Greek copies say, like a cypress tree upon the mountains of Hermon, and the Vulgate in Mount Sion, I should suppose the Latin translation gives us the original reading, and that in the Greek copy here, there is a designed change of the original term, in order to prevent mistakes, as an unwary reader might be in danger, of understanding the words Mount Sion of the mount on which the temple stood, which would by no means have agreed with that precept, *Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the* LORD *thy* GOD, *which thou shalt make thee*, Deut. xvi. 21. On that account, an explanatory note seems to have been given in the margin, signifying that one of the mountains of Hermon was meant, Sion being the name of one of the mountains of Hermon, according to what we read, Deut. iv. 48,* and so from the margin it appears to have crept into the text. The son of Sirach then appears to have meant a cypress tree on Mount Sion, one of the mountains of Hermon.

Engaddi, the same as En-gedi in the Old Testament, seems to have been the place which is celebrated here as that where palm trees were very flourishing. Cades, in

* "From Aroer, which is by the bank of the river Arnon, even unto Mount Sion, which is Hermon."

the Latin translation, is visibly a corruption from Gaddi, arising from some similarity of sound. Εν Αιγιαλοις, (on the sea shores,) which is the reading Lambert Bos has given us, seems to be owing to the misconception of some Egyptian transcriber, on making use of a copy in which Ενγαδδι was considerably defaced; and being struck with the height of those palm trees, which are some of the first objects that present themselves to the eye of those that go by shipping to Epypt, the coast being extremely low, it appeared to him that Ανγιαλοις must be the word he had to transcribe.

Another difference between the Greek and Latin copies is, that the first speaks simply of plane trees flourishing when planted near water; the other speaks of them as growing by *water in the streets*. Here one would think it more natural, for the Greek copies to have inadvertently dropped the words *in the streets*, than for the Latin transcribers to have added them. But whence this idea is derived, it is hard to say. Perhaps some ancient city in Judea, which the son of Sirach had seen, might have somewhat resembled themodern capital of Persia, and be in miniature what Sir John Chardin found Ispahan. A river ran through a noble long place there, where they were wont to take the air, and which was the most beautiful place of the kind he ever saw or heard of. It was crossed by streets in several places, he tells us, which are large canals of water, planted with a double row of lofty plane trees, the one near the canal, the other next the houses.* These trees not only made the streets in which they were planted extremely beautiful and pleasant, but it seems the Persians believed them to be very conducive to the preserving that city in health; for he says in another tome, that the "Persians say it is owing to the plane tree, that they are preserved from the pestilence; and Kalife Sulton, the grand vizier of Sephi 1st, often said to him, as I have heard him affirm, that it was from the time

* Tom. 3, p. 56, 57.

that the king his father had caused these trees to be planted, in the city and territory of Ispahan, that the pestilence had never visited them."*

We are not to suppose this is somewhat peculiar to Ispahan, for he tells us in another page, that many other cities of Persia are full of planted plane trees, and particularly that of Shiras; the Persians being persuaded of that tree's having the property of being good against the pestilence, and every other kind of infection in the air.†

The trees, which are wont to be planted in our English cities and towns, are lime trees; in Persia we find they are plane trees, that are used to decorate their streets, and where there is water they grow to a great height; in Constantinople they have abundance of cypress trees,‡ the Turks using them not merely in their burial places, but in their palaces, and private houses of distinction.‖

Whether this circumstance, the making mention of plane trees in the streets, may be supposed to discover any thing of the countries into which the writer of the book of Ecclesiasticus travelled, by making great impression on his imagination, I leave to be considered; certainly the idea was not derived from Egyptian towns, they are surrounded with palm trees,§ which country the preface of this book tells us he met with a writing, which was the ground work of this compilation of wise sayings, and where he gave it its finishing strokes. In the book itself he is described as a Jew of Jerusalem, ch. i. 27; but he is represented in another part of it as a great traveller. *A man that hath travelled knoweth many things:*

* Tom. 2, p. 201.

† P. 11. Their being planted then of late at Ispahan, was owing, I apprehend, to the Sophi family's making Ispahan their capital, and for that purpose greatly enlarging it, and endeavouring to make it as healthful, as well as magnificent as they could.

‡ De Tott's Mem. tom. 1, p. 5. Phil. Trans. abridg. vol. iii. part 2, ch. 2. art. 39, p 464.

‖ Russell's Hist. of Aleppo, vol. i. p. 14. § De Tott, tom. iv. p. 63, 64.

and he that hath much experience will declare wisdom. He that hath no experience knoweth little: but he that hath travelled is full of prudence. When I travelled, I saw many things, and I understand more than I can express. Ch. xxxiv. 9, 10, 11.

OBSERVATION VI.

BY THE HORN OF THE SON OF OIL, USED BY ISAIAH, SYRIA IS MEANT.

THE land of Israel is called by the Prophet Isaiah, chap. v. 1, *A vineyard in the horn of the son of oil.* That curious expositor Vitringa seems to suppose it is so represented on account of its height; and such seems to have been the thought of our translators, for they render the words, A vineyard in a very fruitful hill. Hills are undoubtedly the proper places for planting vineyards;* and GOD might justly upbraid Israel with the goodness of the country in which he had placed them, its mountains themselves being fertile: but if that was the sole intention, is it not somewhat strange that the Prophet should on this occasion, use an expression so extremely figurative? especially as the same Prophet elsewhere often speaks of the hills with simplicity.

I will not deny, that it is agreeable enough to the Eastern style, to express a hill by the term *horn:* for the supposition of Bishop Pococke† seems to be by no means unnatural, who tells us, that there is a low mountain in Galilee, which has both its ends raised in such a manner as to look like two mounts, which are called the Horns of Hutin; and, as he thinks, from this circumstance, and the village of Hutin's being underneath it. But then it is to be remembered, that the term horn may equally well at

* Shaw, p. 338. † Vol. 2, p. 67.

least be understood in a different sense; so Sir John Chardin informs us, that a long strip of land, that runs out into the Caspian sea, is called the middle sized horn,* and so d'Herbelot tells us, that the place where one of the branches of the Euphrates falls into the Tigris, is called the horn.† By *the horn then of the son of oil*, the Prophet might mean Syria, which is bordered on one side by the sea, and on the other by a most barren desert, and stretches out from its base to the south like a horn; and so these words will be a geographic description of Judea, of the poetic kind, representing it as seated in particular in the fertile country of Syria, rather than in a general and intermediate way, as situated in a fertile hill.

The propriety of describing Syria as a country of oil, no one will, I suppose, contest, as we find that oil was wont anciently to be carried from thence to Egypt, Hos. xii. 1; and as we find the celebrated Croisade historian, William of Tyre, describing Syria Sobal as all thick set with olive trees, so as to make prodigious woods that covered the whole country, affording its inhabitants in those times, as they did their predecessors, a livelihood, and the destruction of which must have been their ruin.‡

OBSERVATION VII.

OF THE FERTILITY OF JUDEA.

THIS leads us to consider with attention, the description that is given of the plenty of that country which GOD gave to Israel. *The* LORD *thy* GOD *bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains, and depths, that spring out of valleys and hills. A land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig trees,*

* In his account of the coronation of Solyman III. p. 154.

† Page 353. ‡ Page 883.

and pomegranates, a land of oil olive, (or *of the olive tree of oil,* according to the margin,) *and honey,* &c. Deut. viii. 7, 8.

I would set down some passages illustrating this description, just as they occur in writers, who have accidentally had occasion to mention matters of this sort.

Hasselquist tells us,* that he ate olives at Joppa, upon his first arrival in the Holy Land, which were said to grow on the Mount of Olives, near Jerusalem; and that, independent of their oiliness, they were of the best kind he had tasted in the Levant. As olives are frequently eaten in their repasts, the delicacy of this fruit in Judea ought not to be forgotten; the oil that is gotten from these trees much less, because still more often made use of. In the progress of his journey he found several fine vales, abounding with olive trees. He saw also olive trees in Galilee, but none further, he says, than the mountain where it is supposed our LORD preached his sermon.†

The fig trees in the neighbourhood of Joppa, Hasselquist goes on to inform us, were as beautiful as any he had seen in the Levant.‡

The reason why pomegranates are distinctly mentioned, in this description of the productions of the Land of Promise, I have had occasion to point out under a preceding Observation.

Honey is used in large quantities in these countries; and Egypt was celebrated for the assiduity with which the people there managed their bees. Maillet's account of it is very amusing.‖ "There are," says he, "abundance of bees in that country, and a singular manner of feeding them, introduced by the Egyptians of ancient times still continues there. Toward the end of October, when the Nile, upon its decrease, gives the peasants an opportunity of sowing the lands, sainfoin is one of the first things sown, and one of the most profitable. As the

* Page 117. † Page 159. ‡ Page 119. ‖ Lett. 9, p. 24, 25.

Upper Egypt is hotter than the Lower, and the inundation there goes sooner off the lands, the sainfoin appears there first. The knowledge they have of this, causes them to send their beehives from all parts of Egypt, that the bees may enjoy, as soon as may be, the richness of the flowers, which grow in this part of the country sooner than in any other district of the kingdom. The hives, upon their arrival at the further end of Egypt, are placed one upon another in the form of pyramids, in boats prepared for their reception ; after having been numbered by the people, who place them in the boats. The bees feed in the fields there for some days ; afterward, when it is believed they have nearly collected the honey and wax, which were to be found for two or three leagues round, they cause the boats to go down the stream, two or three leagues lower, and leave them there, in like manner, such a proportion of time as they think to be necessary for the gathering up the riches of that canton. At length, about the beginning of February, after having gone the whole length of Egypt, they arrive at the sea, from whence they are conducted, each of them, to their usual place of abode. For they take care to set down exactly in a register each district, from whence the hives were carried in the beginning of the season, their number, and the names of the persons that sent them, as well as the number of the boats, where they are ranged according to the places they are brought from. What is astonishing in this affair is, that with the greatest fidelity of memory that can be imagined, each bee finds its own hive, and never makes any mistake. That which is still more amazing to me is, that Egyptians of old, should be so attentive to all the advantages deducible from the situation of their country ; that after having observed that all things came to maturity sooner in Upper Egypt, and much later in Lower, which made a difference of above six weeks between the two extremities of their country, they thought of collecting the wax and the honey, so as to lose none

of them; and hit upon this ingenious method of making the bees do it successively, according to the blossoming of the flowers, and the arrangement of nature."

If this solicitude was as ancient as the dwelling of Israel in Egypt, they must have been anxious to know whether honey, about which they took such care in Egypt, was plentiful in the Land of Promise; and they must have been pleased to be assured it was. It continues to be produced there in large quantities: Hasselquist, in the progress of his journey from Acra to Nazareth, tells us, that he found "great numbers of bees, bred thereabouts, to the great advantage of the inhabitants." He adds, "they make their beehives, with little trouble, of clay, four feet long, and half a foot in diameter, as in Egypt. They lay ten or twelve of them, one on another, on the bare ground, and build over every ten a little roof."* Mr. Maundrell observing also many bees in the Holy Land, takes notice, that by their means the most barren places of that country in other respects became useful, perceiving in many places of the great salt plain near Jericho, a smell of honey and wax as strong as if he had been in an apiary."†

By Hasselquist's account it appears, that the present inhabitants of Palestine are not strangers to the use of hives. They are constructed of very different materials from ours, but just the same with the Egyptian hives. They seem to be an ancient contrivance; and indeed so simple an invention must be supposed to be as old as the days of Moses, when arts, as appears from his writings, of a much more elevated nature were known in Egypt. I cannot then well persuade myself to adopt that opinion of some of the learned,‡ that those words of Moses in Deut. xxxii. 13, *He made him to suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flinty rock*, are to be understood

* Page 153, 154. † Page 66, and 86.

‡ See Bishop Patrick on the place, and Dr. Shaw's Travels, p. 338.

of his causing Israel to dwell in a country, where sometimes they might find honeycomb in holes of the rock. It is very possible, that in that hot country, these insects, when not taken due care of, may get into hollow places of the rocks, and form combs there, as they sometimes construct them in ours in hollow trees, though I do not remember to have met with any traveller that has made such an observation.

But would this have been mentioned with so much triumph by Moses in this place? The quantities of honey produced after this manner, could be but small, compared with what would be collected in hives properly managed; when found, it must often cost a great deal of pains to get the honey out of these little cavities in the hard stone, and much the greatest part must be absolutely lost to the inhabitants. The interpretation is the more strange, because when it is said in the next clause "and oil out of the flinty rock," it is evidently meant, that they should have oil, produced in abundance by olive trees growing on flinty rocks; and consequently the sucking honey out of the rock should only mean, their enjoying great quantities of honey, produced by bees that collected it from flowers growing among the rocks: the rocky mountains of this country, it is well known,* produce an abundance of aromatic plants proper for the purpose.†

* Dr. Shaw, in the same place; Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2, p. 13, mention their finding odoriferous herbs in great numbers, along with olive trees, on Mount Carmel.

† I have indeed read an account somewhere concerning the Cape of Good Hope, that they have bees there, but do not trouble themselves to hive them, the Hottentots furnishing them at an easy rate with rock honey, which has a better flavour than that of the hive. If this account be exact, it does not follow that this ever was the case in Palestine; the present inhabitants are too indolent to give themselves the trouble of making hives, if they could be furnished with sufficient quantities out of the rocks, easy to be come at, and at the same time better tasted than the honey of a hive; but we find by Hasselquist, that they actually make use of hives at this day, though of a very different construction from those of this country.

Nor does Asaph, in the close of the eightyfirst Psalm, speak, I apprehend, of honey found in cavities of rocks: nor yet is he there describing it as collected from the odoriferous plants that grow in the rocky hills of those countries, if the reading of our present Hebrew copies be right: but the Prophet tells Israel, that had they been obedient, God would have fed them with the fat of wheat, and with the rock of honey would he have satisfied them: that is, with the most delicious wheat, and with the richest, most invigorating honey, in large quantities, both for eating, and making agreeable drink. Its reviving, *strengthening* quality, appears in the story of Jonathan, Saul's son, 1 Sam. xiv. 27; as the using the term *rock* to signify *strength*, &c. appears in a multitude of places. The rock of a sword, Psalm lxxxix. 43, for the edge of a sword, in which its energy lies, is perhaps as strange an expression to Western ears.

I shall have occasion to take notice of the excellency of the *grapes* of Judea, in a succeeding chapter; and I may be dispensed with as to the pursuing the further examination of the productions of this country, upon giving my reader a remark of Dr. Shaw's to this purpose, that it is impossible for pulse, wheat, or grain of any kind, to be richer or better tasted, than what is commonly sold at Jerusalem.*

Only it may not be amiss to add, with respect to this country's being well watered, that the depth תהום *tehom*, spoken of in this passage, seems to mean reservoirs† of water, filled by the rains of winter, and of great use to make their lands fertile; as the second word תעלתיה *tealoteeah*, seems to mean wells, or some such sort of conveniences, supplied by springs; and the first word נהרתיה *naharoteeah*, rivers, or running streams, whether carry-

* Page 336.

† The word apparently means something of this kind in Ezek. xxxi. 4; and again, Job xxxviii. 30, for he could be supposed to know nothing of the face of any other deep, than a large pool or reservoir of water.

ing a larger or a smaller body of water. What an important part of this pleasing description, especially in the ears of those that had wandered near forty years in a most dry and parched wilderness! I will only add, without entering into particulars, that the present face of the country answers this description.

OBSERVATION VIII.

OF THE FISH FOUND IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, THE SEA OF GALILEE, AND THE NILE.

THE Scriptures, in their representations of the fruitfulness of the Land of Promise, do in no place, so far as I remember, speak of the plenty of fish there, though Egypt was famous for its fish, and the children of Israel longed with eager desire for fish when in the wilderness. To whatever cause this was owing, it does not appear to be the scarcity of this kind of food in that country.

Fish catched in the Mediterranean were brought to Jerusalem, in the time of Nehemiah in considerable quantities, by the Tyrians, Neh. xiii. 16. As the inhabitants of Tyre were remarkable for skill in maritime affairs, it is impossible to say how far their fisheries might extend; however, it cannot but be pleasing to find, by modern travellers, that they might have catched much fish in their own neighbourhood. "While I was busy in considering the city," says Le Bruyn, speaking of Tyre, "my comrade employed his time in fishing with a line, and his manner of doing it was by putting the line about his finger, and when he found the fish had taken the bait, he drew the string with both hands, one after the other; by which means we had a very good dish of fish, and found them excellently well tasted.*

* Tome i. p. 564.

Travellers have found, that the sea of Tiberias in Galilee, abounds in fish,* some of them very large ;† so they were anciently, John xxi. 11. Hasselquist tells us, several of the sorts of fish in this great lake are the same with those found in the Nile, a circumstance which he thinks remarkable ;‡ doubtless, because it is imagined by the curious, that the fish of that river are peculiar to it. It is certain that Maillet, in the ninth letter of the description of Egypt, tells us, that it is surprising, that, notwithstanding the prodigious quantity of fish in the Nile, there are hardly any, excepting the eel, that resemble those that are taken in the rivers of Europe. This remark, however curious, little concerns these papers; it is more agreeable to my design, to take notice, that among those mentioned by Hasselquist, as common to the sea of Galilee and the Nile, are the charmud, or karmud, as Egmont and Heyman call it, and which these gentlemen tell us, is of the size of the bonni, another of those fish which are common to the Nile and the sea of Galilee, and which they say weighs commonly near thirty pounds.‖ Well then might these authors say, some of the fish of Galilee were very large. To which I would add, that one hundred and fiftythree fishes of this size, or half this size, might well be supposed by St. John to endanger a net, in the passage just now cited from him.

OBSERVATION IX.

OF THE MULBERRY TREES MENTIONED IN SCRIPTURE.

Hasselquist says, that the mulberry tree scarcely ever grows in Judea, very little in Galilee, but in abundance in Syria and Mount Lebanon.§ He therefore

* Pococke, vol. 2, p. 6, 70. † Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2, p. 38.

‡ Page 158. ‖ Egmont and Heyman, vol. p. 2, 220. § Page 287.

blames the translation of Luther, which renders the word we translate sycamore tree, Luke xix. 4, mulberry tree, and again, it seems, Luke xvii. 6.

Our translators do not so render these two passages; but there are other places in which they mention mulberry trees, in particular, 2 Sam. v. 23, 24, and 1 Chron. xiv. 14, 15, and in the margin of Psalm lxxxiv. 6. I am afraid, therefore, he would equally have condemned them, had he been acquainted with our version.

If they are a species of trees not natural to those countries, we cannot imagine them to have been brought into Judea before the reign of David, hundreds of years before the production of silk was thought of there, which is the cause, I presume, of their now growing in abundance in Syria and mount Lebanon, the inhabitants of those places applying themselves, in these later times, with great industry, to the raising silk and making it one great branch of their commerce;* if, on the contrary, they had been natives of Judea, they would still, without doubt, appear there in numbers, as they did, as our translation supposes, in the reign of king David: it is not likely then that our translation should be right.

It is much more easy, however, to determine, that they are wrong in their translation, than to find out what the original word really means. The Chaldee paraphrase contents itself with speaking of them as trees in general: the Septuagint, in Samuel, supposes they were trees that grew in a place called *Weeping*, and Josephus follows them in this; but this version in Chronicles supposes the word signifies *pear trees*.

Were I to hazard a conjecture here, and were there a greater sameness between the notions of the East and the West, I should propose it, as no improbable supposition, that the *Weeping willow* is the tree meant here. Russell found it a common tree in the gardens of Aleppo,†

* Voy. de Syrie, &c. par de la Roque, tom. i. p. 1. † Vol. i. p. 47.

which are known to have common trees of the field growing frequently in them, as well as other plants: Russell himself mentions the poplar, the common white willow, the horn beam, oaks, the ash, growing in their gardens, with other trees we should more readily expect to find there, forming on the whole a wild and irregular, but agreeable prospect. It is true, I do not remember to have met with an account of this species of willow, in the catalogue of the plants of the Holy Land which I have seen: but every one knows the *Flora* and the *Fauna Palæstinæ* are very imperfect. But it is so common a tree at Aleppo, we may believe it is no stranger in Judea.

OBSERVATION X.

OF THE OLIVE TREE IN THE PROMISED LAND.

We have before taken notice that the olive tree is very common in Judea: I would now remark, that the Scriptures frequently refer to it, and that those very references have given some pain to an ingenious traveller, on the account of trees of this species wanting a vivid verdure.

Mr. Sharp, in his fortyeighth letter from Italy, expresses his pain in these words, "The fields, and indeed the whole face of Tuscany, are in a manner covered with olive tree, but the olive tree does not answer the character I had conceived of it: the Royal Psalmist and some of the Sacred Writers speak with rapture of the green olive trees, so that I expected a beautiful green; and I confess to you, I was wretchedly disappointed, to find its hue resembling that of our hedges, when they are covered with dust. The olive tree may, possibly, delight in the barren district of Judea, but, undoubtedly, will disgust a man accustomed to English verdure."

The objection shows, that it is of some importance to attend to minute, and even seemingly trifling circum-

stances mentioned in Holy Writ, which is the great design of these papers. In considering it, I cannot allow the propriety of this worthy writer's method of alleviating the difficulty he had proposed: Judea is not now so destitute of verdure, as to make a tree that looks as if it was all over covered with dust, an object sufficient to charm the eye by its colour; and such a supposition is still less admissible, when it relates to former times, when it was much better cultivated. The true way of solving the difficulty is, I imagine, to consider the word translated green, not as descriptive of colour, in these passages, but of some other property, youthfulness, vigour, prosperity, &c.

It certainly must be so understood in some places where it occurs. No mortal ever imagined that when Nebuchadnezzar said, *I was at rest in mine house, and green in my palace*, Dan. iv. 4, that he meant either that the colour of his face, or of his garments was green; but that he was, as our translators justly render it, flourishing in his palace, that he was in such a state, with respect to his royalty, as a tree is when it is green, considered as a vegetable. So in the fiftysecond Psalm, David describes a wicked man, as soon to wither away and disappear; while he should be like a young vigorous olive tree, which had long to live and to flourish. The beauty of the olive tree, marked out in other passages of Scripture, consisted in the spread of its branches, not in its colour, Hosea xiv. 6.

The disappointment then of Mr. Sharp arose, not from the misrepresentation of the sacred writers, but merely from his misunderstanding them.

In like manner, when the Psalmist says, *I shall be anointed with green oil*, Ps. xcii. 10, where there is the same word in the original, we are not to suppose he means oil of a green colour: would there have been any great advantage in that? Or can any passage be produced to show it was an object of desire to the people of the

East? But we are, I believe, to understand the word as signifying precious, fragrant oil, such as princes in times of prosperity were anointed with: fragrant if you will, *as a field which the* LORD *has blessed, a flowery field, in all its verdure, to the smell of which Isaac compared the scent of the perfumed clothes Jacob had on when Isaac blessed him*, Gen. xxvii. 27.

It appears from many passages, that when princes were victorious, rich presents were wont to be made them;* and from the history of Hezekiah,† that precious ointments, or oils in which odoriferous plants or other substances had been put, and kept there some time, were presented to them, preserved long by them among their treasures in part, and in part, we may believe, made use of on joyful occasions: which kind of oil is, without doubt, what the Psalmist calls green oil, and with which he was to be anointed, when GOD should exalt his power, and make his horn like that of an unicorn.

To think of *greenness* of colour in the oil, would be childish; to interpret the word of oil, expressed from green, that is to say, from unripe olives, would not well agree with the accounts of some modern writers on medical preparations, who affirm that oil cannot be drawn from unripe olives;‡ to understand the word as signifying fresh drawn oil, would be to give it much less energy than, I apprehend, was intended by the Psalmist; to explain it of oil made extremely odoriferous is, I cannot help thinking, placing it in the proper point of light.

It is natural to suppose most, if not all the oil that was made use of for anointing themselves for pleasure, was more or less fragrant; it would else have hardly answered the purpose, which was the stifling those disagreeable

* 2 Sam. viii. 10, 2 Chron xxxii. 23. † Is. xxxix. 2.

‡ Voy. Dict. des Drogues, par Lemery, Art. Omphacium, "Ce que les auteurs appellent Oleum Omphacinum, seroit une huile tirée par expression, des olives vertes; mais on n'en peut point tirer, comme je l' ay remarqué dans ma pharmacopée."

scents the heat of that climate often excited. On this account it became extremely necessary to the enjoyment of life; for which reason the Prophet Micah* threatened Israel, *That they should tread olives, but not anoint themselves with oil.* We are ready to imagine no other important use of oil but for eating, but they found life would be inelegant without anointing.

Some of their ointments were extremely precious: such was the composition with which the head of our LORD was anointed.† But a slight infusion of some of their own country flowers was sufficient to give their hair a very agreeable scent. So Hasselquist tells us, the Egyptians put the flowers of the tuberose into sweet oil, and by this means give the oil a most excellent smell, scarcely inferior to oil of jessamine;‡ and in another place, that he found jessamine growing in the Holy Land,‖ besides other fragrant plants.

OBSERVATION XI.

OF THE DRYNESS OF THE GROUND PREVIOUS TO THE AUTUMNAL RAINS.

THE description that Sir J. Chardin gives us in his MSS. of the state of these countries, with respect to the cracking of the earth, before the autumnal rains fell, is so lively a comment on Jer. xiv. 4, *Because the ground is chapt, for there was no rain in the earth, the ploughmen were ashamed,* that I beg leave to introduce it here as a distinct observation.

The lands of the East, he says, in a note on Ps. cxliii. 6, which the great dryness there causes to crack, are the ground of this figure, which is certainly extremely beauti-

* Ch. vi. 15. † Matt. xxvi. 7.

‡ Page 267. ‖ Page 134.

ful; for these dry lands have chinks too deep for a person to see to the bottom of: this may be observed in the Indies more than any where, a little before the rains fall, and wherever the lands are rich and hard.

The Prophet's speaking of ploughmen, shows that he is speaking of the autumnal state of those countries; and if the cracks are so deep from the common dryness of their summers, what must they be when the rains are withheld beyond the usual time, which is the case Jeremiah is referring to?

OBSERVATION [illegible]

CURIOUS ACCOUNT OF CERTAIN KINDS OF SEEDS, MENTIONED BY ISAIAH, CHAP. XXVIII. 25, 26.

THE Septuagint not only supposes that four sorts of grain, or seeds of the larger and harder kind, are mentioned in a passage of Isaiah :* but St. Jerom, who tells us this in his commentary on that Prophet, represents the Hebrew as saying the same thing. Jerom frequently represents the Septuagint translation as differing from the original Hebrew; but here he supposes there is no difference between them.† This leads us to various reflections: some perfectly coinciding with the design of these papers; others of a different nature.‡

* Chap. xxviii. 25, 28.

† Even the vulgar Latin, which has undergone many supposed corrections, in order to make it more perfectly correspond with the modern Hebrew copies, yet retains the mention of *four* different kinds of grain here, wheat, barley, millet, and vetches.

‡ There are *six* different kinds of grain mentioned here, not only by the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*, but probably also by the *Hebrew*.

Sept.—σπειρει, μικρον μελανθιον, κυμινον, πυρον, κριθην, κεγχρον, και ζεαν.

Vulg.—seret gith, cyminum, triticum, hordeum, milium, et viciam.

In the first place it shows, that there has been a variation in the Hebrew copies since the days of Jerom. In this case the variation is of no great moment; it is however a variation. This, before the publications of Dr. Kennicott, would, probably, have been warmly contested; but will be more easily admitted now.

Secondly, The corruption is not greater than has been observed in some other cases. נסמן Nisman, *the appointed*, is put, it seems, for ורחן vedochan, which signifies, *and millet*. The letters sufficiently resemble each other to admit of this change.

Thirdly, The adding the word נסמן *nisman* appointed, to the barley the husbandman sows, seems to be very useless here; but if we understand the word to have been originally *millet*, it is a very good addition to the examples that Prophet gives, of the wisdom the God of nature has been pleased to bestow on the husbandman in tilling the ground, so that he properly casts in the principal wheat, and the barley, and the millet, and the rye, or whatever grain the fourth word means.

Wheat, barley, millet, and vetches, are supposed to be the grains that the Prophet mentions: now the time when they are sown, and the soil which is chosen for each repectively, differ; but God has given men the requisite sagacity.

"They begin to plough about the latter end of September, and sow their earliest wheat about the middle of October. The frosts are never severe enough to prevent their ploughing all winter, so that they continue to sow all sorts of grain to the end of January, and barley sometimes after the middle of February. No harrow is used, but the ground is ploughed a second time after it is sown, in order to cover the grain; in some places, where the

Heb.—וכסמת נסמן שערה חטה כמן קצח והפיץ
vehepits ketsach cammon chittah soarah nisman vecussameth
Quere—Is נסמן *nisman* a mistake for סססמן *sesamon*, or *sesamum*, so well known in the East? EDIT.

soil is a little sandy, they plough but once, and that is after sowing."*

Here we see the wheat requires to be sown much earlier than the barley; God has given the ploughman the discretion that is requisite to distinguish between the proper times of sowing them.

When we came further, says Rauwolff, describing his voyage down the Euphrates, "we had generally even ground at both sides, and not a few fields, the most part whereof were sown with Indian millet, for they sow more of this than of wheat or barley, for the sand is pretty deep, wherein the corn would not grow so well. This millet was just fit to be cut down, and in some places they had it in already.† . . . . . Hereof they bake very well tasted bread and cakes, and some of them are rolled very thin, and laid together like unto a letter, so that they are about four inches broad, six long, and two thick; they are of an ashen colour. The inhabitants call it still at this day by its ancient Arabian name *dora*, whereof Rhases makes mention."‡

Here we see a great difference between the culture of the millet of those countries, and that of the wheat and barley. It is sown in such a sandy soil, on the edge of the great Arabian desert, that neither the wheat, nor the barley, according to him, would grow there. These two last, Russell tells us, are repeated by the end of May, N. S. just after the drought of a Syrian summer comes on; while the millet is left abroad exposed to those violent heats, and not gathered in till the middle of October,‖ which is after the time the autumnal rain often begins to fall. What a loss was it to the beauty and energy of the Prophet's representation, of God's instructing the tiller of the ground how to proceed with the different kinds of grain, and what to sow in the different kinds of

* Russell, vol. 1, p. 73.

† The middle of October.

‡ Ray's Trav. p. 151

‖ Rauwolff.

soil, when the word signifying millet was unfortunately taken to be a word which is thought to signify *appointed*, which has hardly any sense or meaning in this place!

I have elsewhere observed, that it is not improbable that the last word means a sort of grain which they call corn of Damascus, and the Italians *surgo rosso*, which it seems grows in a very moist soil in Egypt, when that country is overflowed; and so it stands distinguished from the millet which grows, according to Rauwolff, in the burning sands of Arabia. It is GOD that gives the husbandman discretion when and where to sow the different kinds of grain; the wheat early in the winter, the barley in the latter end of it; the millet in sandy places, the corn of Damascus in those that are marshy or watery.

This circumstance is perhaps meant by the last word in the 25th verse, which in our translation is rendered, "in their place," but is translated by others, *his border;* the כסמת *cussumeth* of his or its border, *cussumeth* is the Hebrew word to express this kind of grain. Now rivers, whose borders are generally more or less marshy or fenny, were commonly made use of to separate one country, or one district from another,* as they are now, and consequently the *cusasmeth of his border* may mean the *cussameth* that is wont to be sown in moory, fenny, or watery places. This places the thought of the Prophet in a more clear and determinate point of view, than it is wont to appear in the works of commentators.

Agreeable to this, Rauwolff saw Indian millet in the fields near Rama, when he visited the Holy Land, in the time of queen Elizabeth. It was known then, at the time when our translation was made, that millet grew in Judea; how unhappy that it appears not in our version, among the other things mentioned by Isaiah as cultivated there! He was there the middle of September, O. S. 1575, and observed that Rama was situated on an ascent, in plain

* See Jos. xxii. 25. Numb. xxi. 13, 14, 24. 1 Kings iv. 21. Gen. xv. 18, &c.

fields, which extended themselves two leagues, where the hills begin that continue to Jerusalem. "These fields are very fruitful, and very well tilled, and sown with corn, cotton, and Indian millet. Hereabout do also grow Indian muskmelons in great quantity, by the Arabians called *batiere*, which are very pleasant, and well tasted, chiefly those that are red within; so that in all my travels I hardly met with the like."*

OBSERVATION XIII.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF SEEDS, EATEN WITH THEIR BREAD.

I HAVE, in a preceding volume, taken notice of the present Eastern custom of sprinkling various sorts of seeds on their bread, to make it more pleasing: Rauwolff mentions the seeds of sesamum, Romish coriander, and wild garden saffron, as used for that purpose.† Here I would observe, that in another place Rauwolff tells us, that in going from Aleppo to Bir, a town on the Euphrates, he saw whole acres of Turkish corn called *sesamo*, and others all sown with cotton.‡

In like manner Dr. Russell informs us, that "Besides Turkey wheat, barley, and cotton, they sow in the fields, cicers, lentils, beans, chickling, small vetch, sesamum, bastard saffron, Turkey millet."||

For the same reason, the frequent use of these seeds to give a more agreeable flavour to their bread, they might anciently too sow some of their fields with these vegetables: and it is probable that to some of them the Prophet refers when he says, *Doth the ploughman plough all day to sow? doth he open and break the clods of his ground? When he hath made plain the face thereof, doth he cast*

* Ray's Coll. of Travels, p. 229. † Ray's Trav. p 95.

‡ Page 125. || Descrip. of Aleppo, vol. 1. p. 75, &c.

abroad the fitches, (or rather the sesamum, or some other seed made use of to sprinkle on their bread,) *and scatter the cummin . . . . For his* GOD *doth instruct him to discretion, and doth teach him. For the fitches* (the sesamum, or some such seed) *are not threshed with a threshing instrument, neither is a cart wheel turned about upon the cummin; but the fitches* (the sesamum, &c.) *are beaten with a staff, and the cummin with a rod.**

Whether what we call cummin is the seed Isaiah precisely meant, is not absolutely certain: the Dutch of our times are said to put that kind of seed into their cheeses, but I do not recollect that any of our travellers say that it is used to give a relish to bread. However, the accounts that are given us, of the sowing these small and tender seeds in their fields by the modern Oriental husbandmen, may illustrate the words of the Prophet here, better than the translating this first word by the term *gith*, as the vulgar Latin does, and also St. Jerom, with which vegetable, and its uses, we are not well acquainted. The Bishop of London, in his late curious translation of this sacred book, renders it *dill*, which seed might certainly be used for the same purpose as the sesamum, and grows in the gardens of Aleppo, Russell tells us,† as the carraway and the coriander; but the dill neither appears in his catalogue of the seeds sown in the fields of which the Prophet is speaking, nor does Rauwolff give us any account of its being sprinkled upon their bread: but it is possible both may be true.

St. Jerom remarks, that the Septuagint translates the end of the 27th verse, and beginning of the 28th, after this manner: "The gith is beaten out with a rod, and the cummin is eaten with bread;" and says, he could not imagine what they had in view in that translation: but, I think, we may learn at least from it this, that in those times, in which they lived, such small seed as cummin, &c. were wont to be sprinkled on their bread; they would

* Isaiah xxviii. 25, &c. † Vol. 1, p. 73, &c.

hardly otherwise have so translated the words. This Jerom did not attend to, but observed that it was a deviation from the Hebrew copy he made use of, and such an one as he could not well account for.*

By another passage, in the same commentary, it appears that in Judea, in his time, the same difference continued that the Prophet mentions, as to the mode of threshing these things. The wheat, barley, and the fourth kind of grain, passed under the old Eastern machine; the smaller seeds, first mentioned, threshed by a staff; but as to the millet, he was unable to say how it was treated.

It may not be improper to add, that, according to the Baron de Tott, cummin is so much cultivated to this day in Judea, that its seed constitutes one branch of its commerce with Egypt; but he gives us no account of the use that is made of it, whether as a relisher of their bread, their cheese, or any other sort of their food,† or whether it is imported for the use of their pigeons. I will however set down the passage.

"The commerce of Jaff, (he means Joppa,) only consists of linen and rice, sent from Damietta for the consumption of Napooloose, Rames, Jerusalem, and numerous hordes of Arabs, who encamp in the plains of Gaza.

"Damietta receives in exchange, glass ware, fabricated at Ebron, raw cottons, cummin, and especially soap of Jaff. This article has enjoyed, from time immemorial, the privilege of only paying, in Egypt, half the usual duties."‡

* Nescio quid volentes LXX. transtulerunt: Cyminum autem cum pane comeditur. Com. in loc.

† Pietro della Vallé, speaking of some of the Turkish dishes, gives an account of sausages made of beef, seasoned with cummin seed, which was by no means agreeable to his palate. Tome 1, p. 129, 130.

‡ Memoirs, part 4, p. 94, 95.

OBSERVATION XIV.

EASTERN GARDENS NOT REMARKABLY WELL STORED WITH FRUIT TREES.

THE representation Dr. Chandler gives of the garden of the governor of Eleûs, a Turkish town on the western border of the Hellespont, may be considered, I apprehend, as the description of most of the ancient gardens of the Jewish people.

"When the heat was abated a little, we were informed that the governor gave us permission to refresh in his garden. We dismissed his messenger with a bacshish, or a present of three piasters, and an excuse, that we were just going away; but this was not accepted; and we paid another piaster for seeing a very small spot of ground, walled in, and containing nothing, except two vines, a fig, and a pomegranate tree, and a well of excellent water."*

Other fruit trees were certainly known, even in the patriarchal times, though we have reason to believe, that there have been great additions made to the knowledge of the people of the East, in this respect, since those times; but if a few vines, a fig, and a pomegranate, were all the fruit trees now found in an Eastern garden, belonging to a person of some figure, we may believe the number of the trees of an ancient Jewish garden, in common were not more numerous, or composed of a greater variety.

Accordingly we find grapes, figs, and pomegranates, mentioned, while other kinds of fruit are passed over in silence, excepting the olive, Numb. xiii. 23, xx. 5, Deut. viii. 8, and Hag. ii. 19.

When then the transactions of Nathaniel under a fig tree are mentioned, John i. 48, we may believe they were the devotional exercises of a retired garden, walled in

* Travels in Asia Minor, p. 16.

and concealed from the eyes of men; and when king Saul is said to have tarried under a pomegranate tree in Migron, 1 Sam. xiv. 2, it is probable he was taking the refreshment of the air in a garden. Certainly when Israel are said to have dwelt, every man under his own vine and his own figtree,* those passages refer to the Eastern people's spending a good part of their time in their gardens.

It is to be remembered, the gardens spoken of in the book of Canticles, filled with such a variety of productions, were royal gardens, and the gardens of a prince remarkable both for curiosity, for knowledge of natural history, and for magnificence.

These royal gardens seem to have been at a distance from the palace; the miniature gardens of the ancient Jews, in common life, adjoining to their houses.

OBSERVATION XV.

ANCIENT METHOD OF GATHERING THE OLIVES.

THE sacred writings sometimes respresent olives as beaten off the trees, and at other times as shaken: this does not indicate, I should apprehend, an improvement made in after times on the original mode of gathering them; or different methods of procedure by different people, in the same age and country, who possessed olive yards; but rather expresses, the difference between the gathering the main crop by the owners, and the way in which the poor collected the few olive berries that were left and which by the law of Moses, they were to be permitted to take.

The beating of the olives is mentioned Deut. xxiv. 20: *When thou beatest thine olive tree, thou shalt not go over the boughs again; it shall be for the stranger, for the*

* 1 Kings vi. 25, &c.

fatherless, and for the widow. The shaking the olive trees is mentioned, Is. xvii. 6, and xxiv. 13, as being then the practice, or used at least on some occasions.

The Abbot Fortis, in his account of Dalmatia,* praises the care of the inhabitants of a certain island there, in the management of their olives, in not suffering them to ferment before they express the oil; and complains of the "stupid and absurd method of gathering in many other places. In the kingdom of Naples and in several other parts of Italy, they use to beat the branches with long poles, in order to make the fruit fall. This foolish method, besides hurting the plant, and spoiling many branches that would bear the year following, makes the ripe and unripe fruit fall indiscriminately, and bruises a great deal of both kinds, whereby they become rancid in the heaps, and give an ill flavoured oil."

However hurtful beating down the olives with long poles may be, philosophically considered, if it has continued, down to our times, to be the custom in Naples and other parts of Italy, it is no wonder, that in the more early and unimproved state of things in the time of Moses, this should have been the common way of gathering them by the owners, who were willing to leave, we may believe, as few as possible on their trees, and were forbidden by their law to brush them over a second time.

But shaking them was sufficient when they had hung so much longer as to be fully ripe, and therefore, it was used by the poor or by strangers, who might not have such long poles in their possession as the owners kept; not to say that the owners might not be insensible that beating the trees was injurious, and therefore might require the poor not to make use of that mode of gathering them, though they might not suppose it was so hurtful as to counterbalance the advantages derived from beating them, when they proposed to gather the main crop themselves.

* Page 412.

Accordingly, if we examine the places that speak of the *shaking the olive trees*, we shall find the main crop had been gathered at that time, and consequently that it was only made use of to come at the olive berries that were left, the words of Isaiah,* *As the shaking of an olive tree, two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough*, &c. being to be understood as signifying, As in the time when men come to an olive tree to shake it, after the crop is gathered, there appear only a few here and there; not as meaning, As after the shaking of the olive tree, &c. And thus, with great judgment, has the Bishop of London translated the passage,

"A gleaning shall be left in it, as in the shaking of the olive tree."

Answerable to this, the olives of the Holy Land continue to be beaten down to this time; at least they were so gathered in the year 1774.

OBSERVATION XVI.

OIL JARS FREQUENTLY BURIED IN THE GROUND, THE BETTER TO PRESERVE THEIR CONTENTS.

When our translation represents Joash as over the cellars of oil, in the time of King David, 1 Chron. xxvii. 28, they have certainly, without any necessity, and perhaps improperly, substituted a particular term for a general expression. Joash was at that time, according to the sacred historian, over the treasures of oil; but whether it was kept in cellars, or in some other way, does not at all appear in the original history.

The modern Greeks, according to Dr. Richard Chandler, do not keep their oil in cellars, but in large earthen jars, sunk in the ground, in areas before their houses.† The custom might obtain among the Jews: as then it was

* Chap. xvii. 6. † Trav. in Greece, p. 126

needless, it must be improper to use the particular term cellars, when the original uses a word of the most general signification.

It is certain they sometimes buried their oil in the earth, in order to secrete it in times of danger, on which occasion they must be supposed to choose the most unlikely places, where such concealment would be least suspected; in their fields; whether they were wont to bury it, at other times, in their courtyards, cannot be so easily ascertained.*

OBSERVATION XVII.

OF THE TIME WHEN THE VINE AND OLIVE BLOSSOM.

A VERY ingenious writer supposes† that the vine blossoms considerably earlier than the olive: that grapes, when half grown, are wont to fall as well as the olive blossoms; that the disappointment of people's hopes from either arises from the same cause; and that that cause is the burning pestilential quality of the east wind: but all these suppositions, I would remark, admit of doubt: nor do the words of Eliphaz, in the book of Job, ch. xv. 33, require us to admit of any of these points.

Some doubt may be made, whether the vine does blossom in the East considerably earlier than the olive, on account of a passage of Dr. Richard Chandler's Travels

* Jer. xli. 8. *Ten men were found among them that said unto Ishmael, Slay us not; for we have treasures in the field, of wheat, and of barley, and of oil, and of honey.*

† Scott, in his translation of the book of Job, thus translates the 33d verse of the 15th verse.

"As when the vine her half grown berries showers,
Or poison'd olive her unfolding flowers."

And his note there is, "The green grape show themselves early in the spring, in those hot climates; and the olive blossoms in June and July; in which months a pestilential east wind blows there."

in Greece. That curious and observing gentleman informs us,* that he set out from Marathon the 5th of May; that the next day he was presented with a handful of white roses fresh gathered.† In the same page, he tells us, that that day they procured a live fowl, which they had boiled for breakfast, with some eggs to be fried in oil, he goes on, "We eat under an olive tree then laden with pale yellow flowers. A strong breeze from the sea scattered the bloom, and incommoded us, but the spot afforded no shelter more eligible."‡

According to this, the olive tree blossoms at the same time with the rose bush; and I have elsewhere shown, that the blossoming of the rose and of the vine are nearly contemporary: with us in the latter end of June, in some of the warmer Eastern countries, about the end of April. According to Dr. Chandler, in this passage, the olive, in like manner, was in blossom the beginning of May in Greece, at which time the white rose was just come into bloom, and was presented as a pleasing gift to the Doctor,‖ and at that time the olive blossoms were blown off in such quantities as to incommode them.

It is but justice, however, to add, that Dr. Chandler, in another place of the same book, describes the olive as being in blossom about the end of June. For leaving Athens the 21st of that month, and having passed from place to place in the Saronic gulf, for four or five days, he tells us, p. 211, "We landed, and went to the monastery, which is at some distance from the sea, the situation high and romantic, near a deep torrent bed. It was sur-

* Page 159.

† Page 161. One would rather imagine, that these were, therefore, considered as something curious, being but just come into blossom, not as to be found on every rose bush they met with. It might, however, have been otherwise; and rose bushes and vines have come into flower some time sooner.

‡ Outlines of a new commentary on Solomon's Song, p. 147.

‖ There is very little difference, in point of time, between the blossoming of the white and red rose.

rounded by green vineyards ; thickets of myrtle, orange and lemon trees in blossom ; the arbutus with fruit large, but unripe; the oleander or picrodaphne, and the olive laden with flowers."

According to this last account, the grapes near Mâra-thon might be of a considerable size, when the olive trees in the other place were but in blossom. But, if there is no mistake in one of these accounts, as the olive does not continue long in the blossom, as will appear presently, the difference, in point of time, as to the blossoming of the olive in these two places, must have proceeded from the difference of soil, or exposition, or height, or some, or all, of these causes conjoined ;* and probably, in consequence, the vine in this lofty situation was proportionably as backward.

It is certain that Miller, the great Chelsea gardener, supposes that with us, oranges, lemons, limes, citrons, red, white, and double oleanders, and olives, may be found in flower in the month of July, in our green houses and stoves, consequently are contemporaries; but the vine blossoms with us before July in the open air.†

As to the other particulars : it is very much questioned, whether grapes, when half grown, are wont to fall from the vines, so as to defeat the hopes of a good vintage. I do not remember to have heard of any such complaint. The hurt done to the olive tree, is, according to a succeeding citation from Dr. Chandler, when they are in blossom; and the Doctor tells us,‡ not indeed as from his own observation, but Pausanias, the hurt was done in as early a state to the vine, if not earlier, for that ancient author speaks of their being injured in the bud; and that it was supposed to be a southwest wind that withered them in that early period; whereas it was, according to Chandler, a north or northeast wind, that was wont to

* Chandler himself observes the situation of the last place was high.

† See his Gardener's Kalendar. ‡ Page 219.

defeat their hopes from the olive trees in Greece: to which he adds, that the danger, with regard to the flowers of those trees, is over in a fortnight.

The passage is too curious not to be cited at length here. It is as follows: "The olive groves are now, as anciently, a principal source of the riches of Athens. . . . The mills for pressing and grinding the olives are in the town. The oil is deposited in large earthen jars, sunk in the ground, in the areas before the houses. The crops had failed five years successively, when we arrived. The cause assigned was, a northerly wind, called Greco-Tramontane, which destroyed the flower. The fruit is set in about a fortnight, when the apprehension from this unpropitious quarter ceases. The bloom in the following year was unhurt, and we had the pleasure of leaving the Athenians happy in the prospect of a pentiful harvest."*

Here, we are told, it is a northerly wind that is supposed to cause the olive blossom to fail. Elsewhere the Cæcias, or the northeast wind, according to the disposition of the tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes at Athens, which is "an octagon, decorated with sculpture, representing the winds, eight in number. . . "A young Turk," says Chandler, "explained to me two of the emblems; that of the figure of Cæcias, as signifying he made the olives fall; of Sciron, that he dried up the rivers."†

If then the olive trees are injured by a N.E. wind, and the vines by S.W. they are not hurt by the same kind of wind: they are opposite winds that are supposed to produce these different effects.‡

If they are opposite winds that produce these destructive effects on the vine and the olive, they are not both to

* Page 126. † Page 103.

‡ Accordingly, Dr. Chandler, who expresses such an obliging concern for the Athenians, on account of the failure of their olive crops five years together, says not one word of any loss they sustained of their grapes; and no wonder, if they are contrary winds that produce these destructive effects on those two important trees of the East.

be attributed to the Sumyel, or deadly east wind. It should even seem neither of these two sorts of ruinous winds are to be supposed to have the qualities of the Sumyel, as the very ingenious author, on whom I am now animadverting, supposes. The Sumyel is not known, I think, in Greece. What effect is produced by the Sumyel on half grown grapes and olive blossoms, in the countries where it blows, if distinctly noticed there, has not, so far as I know, been transmitted to us in Europe: but it is evident, from these citations from Dr. Chandler, that winds that are not deadly, as the Sumyel is, may be very ruinous to vines and olive trees; and that these effects should not be attributed to this kind of southeast wind exclusively, if at all.

It would be a valuable acquisition to the learned world, if observations made in Judea itself, or rather in this case, in the land of Uz, were communicated to it, relating to the natural causes which occasion, from time to time, a disappointment of their hopes from their vineyards and olive plantations; and the effects of a violently sultry southeast wind on their most useful, or remarkable vegetables.

After all, I very much question, whether the words of Eliphaz, in this passage of the book of Job, xv. 33, refer to any blasting of the vine by natural causes; they seem rather to express the violently taking away the unripe grapes by the wild Arabs, of which I have given an account in the preceding volume.* It is certain the word בסר *biser*, translated here *unripe grape*, is used to express those grapes that were so far advanced in growth as to be

* Isaiah xviii. 5, is to be understood after the same manner, which the Bishop of London has thus translated, after a much more advantageous manner than our common version,

> "Surely before the *vintage*, when the bud is perfect,
> And the blossom is become a swelling grape;
> He shall cut of the shoots with pruning hooks,
> And the branches he shall take away, he shall cut down."

eaten, though not properly ripened, as appears from Jeremiah xxxi. 29, and Ezek. xviii. 2; and the verb נחמ *yachmas*, translated here *shake off*, signifies removing by violence, consequently cannot be meant of any thing done in the natural course of things, but by a human hand; and if so, may as well be applied to the depredations of the Arabs, as the impetuosity or deleterious quality of any wind, the energy of poetry making use of a verb active instead of its passive.

It may not be amiss, before I close, just to take notice, that the vulgar Latin translation was so little apprehensive that grapes, when grown to any considerable size, were wont to drop, that its authors, or correctors, have rendered the words after this manner, "Lædetur quasi vinea in *primo flore* botrus ejus," that is, "his cluster shall be injured as a vine when it first comes into flower;" intimating, that if any damage is done to the vine at all by an intemperate season, they supposed it would be upon its first flowering.

How arduous is the business of translating a foreign poem into English verse! A multitude of circumstances must be attended to by such a translator, when he finds himself obliged, as he often does, to vary the expressions a little, on account of his verse; and, for want of full information as to particular points, he must frequently fail. Mistakes of this kind demand great candour.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

WINE PRESSES SOMETIMES IN THE VINEYARDS, BUT MOSTLY IN THE TOWNS. CURIOUS CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN GREEKS.

THOUGH the conveniencies they have in the wine countries for pressing their grapes, were frequently in peaceful

times in their vineyards;* yet in times of apprehension, these conveniencies were often in the cities themselves.

Greece to the present day is, we are informed, frequently alarmed, and always under apprehension from corsairs: accordingly we find, that though the plantations of olive trees belonging to Athens are large, and at some distance from thence, yet the mills for grinding and pressing the olives are in that town: and this, though, according to his description the great olive grove, or wood of these trees, as Dr. Richard Chandler calls it, watered by the Cephissus, is about three miles from the city, and has been computed as at least six miles long.† The same reason that can induce men to fetch their olives from a distance into their towns, must operate more or less forcibly with regard to their grapes.

This was in particular, I apprehend, the state of things at the time Nehemiah visited the children of the captivity. They had many enemies about them, and those very spiteful; and they themselves were very weak. For this reason, I imagine, many of them trod their grapes in Jerusalem itself. *In those days saw I in Judah some treading winepresses on the sabbath, and bringing in sheaves, and lading asses; and also wine, grapes, and figs, and all manner of burdens, which they brought into Jerusalem on the sabbath day.* Neh. xiii. 15. Had these winepresses been at a distance from Jerusalem, he that so strictly observed the precept of resting that day would not have seen that violation of it. They appear by that circumstance, as well as by the other particulars mentioned there, to have been within the walls of Jerusalem.

Our translators seem to have been guilty of an oversight in rendering this verse, where they plainly suppose, that sheaves of corn were brought into Jerusalem, at that very time that men were treading the winepresses.

* Is. v. 2, Matt. xxi. 33. † Travels in Greece, p. 126.

This is a strange anachronism, since the harvest there was finished in or before the third month, and the vintage was not till the seventh. It is described with great accuracy by the sacred penman of the 2d book of Chronicles. There, we are told, that when the Israelites brought in the first fruits of their corn, wine, and oil, and honey, and of all the increase of the field, and laid them by heaps, that in the third month they began to lay the foundation of the heaps, and finished them in the seventh month; and that when Hezekiah and the princes came and saw the heaps, they blessed the LORD and his people.* The corn was fit to present to the LORD about the end of May or beginning of June; the wine and oil, or raisins and ripe olives, not till the end of September, or perhaps the beginning of October.†

It appears the more awkward to talk of the bringing in sheaves of corn at the same time the winepresses were at work, because it is well known that the people of these countries immediately tread out their corn, after they have cut or plucked it up, and put it in proper repositories. There is no such thing among them as with us, where sheaves of corn may be often seen many months after they are reaped, and are sometimes removed from one place to another. At the same time, they that know any thing of the Hebrew, know that the word עֲרֵמוֹת *âremoth*, which they have translated *sheaves*, is the very word that is translated *heaps* in that passage of Chronicles, and which signifies heaps of raisins, figs, pomegranates, as well as of corn threshed out.

So when the words of Nehemiah are to be understood as signifying, "In those days saw I in Judah some treading winepresses on the Sabbath, and bringing in parcels

* Ch. xxxi. 5.

† However, it is to be acknowledged, that they have now a sort of corn in those countries, and in Judea, which is not ripe till the end of the summer, which caused Rauwolff to say it was harvest time when he arrived at Joppa, which was on the 13th of September. Ray's Trav. p. 226, 229.

of grapes for that purpose in baskets, which they had laden on asses, and also jars of wine pressed elsewhere, dried grapes and figs, and all manner of burthens of victuals, which they sold on the Sabbath:" the squeezing the grapes for wine, and drying them for raisins, being it seems, at least frequently, attended to at one and the same time. So when Dr. Chandler set out from Smyrna to visit Greece, in the end of August, the vintage was just begun, "the black grapes being spread on the ground in beds, exposed to the sun to dry for raisins; while in another part, the juice was expressed for wine, a man, with feet and legs bare, treading the fruit in a kind of cistern, with a hole or vent near the bottom, and a vessel beneath it to receive the liquor."*

If the same custom obtained in Judea then, which it seems is practised in Greece now, and that the vintage was just then finishing, Nehemiah must have been particularly galled, for it seems they finish their vintage with dancing, and therefore I presume with songs, and probably music. For speaking of the Greek dances,† of which some are supposed of very remote antiquity, and one in particular, called the *Crane*, he says, "the peasants perform it yearly in the street of the French convent,‡ at the conclusion of the vintage; joining hands, and preceding their mules and their asses, which are laden with grapes in panniers, in a very curved and intricate figure; the leader waving a handkerchief, which has been imagined to denote the clew given by Ariadne."||

Singing seems to have been practised by the Jews in their vineyards, and shouting, when they trod the grapes, from what we read, Is. xvi. 10: but whether dancing too, and whether they carried their profanation

* Trav. in Greece, p. 2. † Page 134.

‡ Where he and his companions lodged at that time.

|| The dance being supposed to have been invented by Thesseus, upon his escape from the labyrinth.

of the Sabbath this length, in the time of Nehemiah, we are not informed.

Some may have supposed, that the words of Jeremiah, ch. xxxi. 4, 5, refer to the joy expressed by the Jews in the time of vintage: *Again, I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel; thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shall go forth in the dances of them that make merry. Thou shalt yet plant vines upon the mountains of Samaria; the planters shall plant, and eat them as common things.* Vines and dancing are here joined together.

But I must think it most probable, that the Prophet refers here to such excursions of joy as these mentioned by Dr. Shaw: "There are several Turkish or Moorish youths, and no small part likewise of the unmarried soldiers, who attend their concubines, with wine and music, into the fields; or else make themselves merry at the tavern; a practice, indeed, expressly prohibited by their religion, but what the necessity of the times, and the uncontrolable passions of the transgressors, oblige these governments to dispense with."*

The Jewish religion did not forbid wine: and the *going forth* of them that make merry, seems more to resemble these excursions in Barbary; than the *bringing home* the last gatherings of their vintage with music and dancing. Nor were vineyards and such excursions totally unconnected together, since their shadiness made them extremely proper for the reception of these parties of pleasure.

The dances of the daughters of Shiloh, mentioned Judges xxi. though performed in the neighbourhood of the vineyards there,† seem however to have been of a very different kind;‡ a particular religious solemnity observed by that town.

* Page 234. † Verse 21.

‡ From *both* the sorts of festivity I have been discoursing about: the public rejoicings of the vintage, and the more private excursions of the young into the country.

For 1st. It appears to have been celebrated by the virgins of Shiloh exclusively, they alone dancing, and being at the same time unattended by the men; not to mention the supposed solitude of the vineyards at the time of this festival, whereas at the time of vintage they would have been crowded with people.

2d. It was a religious solemnity, for it is expressly called a Feast of the LORD, of JEHOVAH, verse 19.

3d. It seems to have been particular to the inhabitants of that town, for there appears to be no reason assignable for the mentioning Shiloh only, if it had been a feast common to all Israel. The word חג *chag* indeed is used to express the three great annual feasts of the Jews, but not them only, as appears from Exod. xxxii. 5, and 1 Kings xii. 32. The use of the verb in 1 Sam. xxx. 16, shows it expresses any kind of rejoicing.*

4th. As there were some voluntary annual solemnities observed by Israel, some of the mournful kind, as that for the daughter of Jephthah, Judges xi. 40; others of the joyous sort, as the days of Purim, Esther ix. 20—28; this dancing solemnity seems to have been one of these voluntary joyous appointments, but peculiar to Shiloh.

But it is doubtful whether it was a perfectly innocent observation, founded in some remarkable mercy that had been granted to Shiloh, such as might have been established by the people of Jabesh Gilead, in commemoration of the narrow escape they had from Nahash the Ammonite, 1 Sam. xi. or a more faulty solemnity, which arose from an old heathenish custom, that had long been established in Shiloh, in honor of some of their idols, or in consequence of some vain opinion that had prevailed in that place.

So Dr. Chandler has given us, in the same volume, many instances of the Greek Christians retaining many

* Behold they were spread abroad upon all the earth, eating and drinking, וחגגים *vechogegeem*, and dancing; that is, as they were wont to do on their great annual *festivals*. EDIT.

of the old practices of their idolatrous ancestors, only making some little changes, requisite for their more easy naturalization in the Christian church. Thus, as "Athens was anciently enlivened by the choruses singing and dancing in the open air, in the front of the temples of the gods and round their altars, at the festivals of Bacchus and other holy days;" so "the Greeks are frequently seen engaged in the same exercises, generally in pairs, especially on the anniversary of their saints, and often in the areas before their churches."* In page 220, speaking of a temple of Minerva, in which the virgins of Troezen consecrated their zones before marriage, he tells us, "the same offering is still seen in the churches at Athens, with towels richly embroidered, and various other articles." Upon speaking of Esculapius, a few pages after,† he informs us, that since he has failed, saints have succeeded to the business: "I have seen," this writer adds, "patients lying in beds in their churches at Athens."

If Shiloh was, at this very time, the place of their religious solemnities, this, though a relic of heathen idolatry, or superstition, might be practised there. Jerusalem afterward did not maintain the purity of Mosaic institutions at all times; if it was a memorial of some deliverance, and perfectly innocent, it might, certainly, be as well practised at Shiloh as in any other Jewish district.

I will only add, that it seems by their lying hid in the vineyards, that the vineyards were then in leaf, and that this solemnity at Shiloh was between the time that leaves first appeared on their vines, that is, in that country about the beginning of March, and the time of vintage in September; for we find by Dr. Chandler,‡ that the cattle in the Lesser Asia are turned into the vineyards immediately after the vintage is over, and prematurely strip off the leaves. More exactly the time of this event cannot, I imagine, be determined by us in this remote age.

* Page 113. † Page 226. ‡ Travels in Asia, p. 142.

OBSERVATION XIX.

CURIOUS EXPLANATION OF GENESIS xlix. 22, 23.

I HAVE shown, in my preceding Observations, that vines in Judea sometimes grow against low stone walls; but I do not apprehend the ingenious Mr. Barrington can be right, when he supposes, in a paper of his on the patriarchal customs and manners,* that Joseph is compared to a *vine growing against the wall*, Gen. xlix. 22.

As vines are sometimes planted against a low wall, they might possibly be planted against a low wall surrounding a well: though it is difficult to guess, why a wall should be built round a well, in a vineyard, of such a height as to be proper for the support of a vine; and if it were, why archers direct their arrows against it, when it would be so easy to gather the fruit by hand, without injury.

But I suppose this is not an exact representation.

In the first place, a vine is not mentioned; it is only a *fruitful tree*, in general, to which Joseph is compared.

Secondly, The being situated near water is extremely conducive, in that dry and hot country, to the flourishing of vegetables in general; and trees among the rest. "We came," says Maundrell,† "to the fountain of Elisha. Close by the fountain grows a large tree, spreading into boughs over the water, and here in the shade we took a collation." A tree, we find, planted near plenty of water, grows there to a large size.

Thirdly, The wild Arabs of those countries are great plunderers of fruit. Maillet assigns that as the reason why the fruit of the land of Egypt, in these later times, is not better, namely, that they are wont to gather it before it is properly ripened, on account of the Arabs, who would otherwise rob them of it.

Fourthly, It is very well known, that walls easily stop Arabs, who are continually on horseback in their roving

* Archæologia, vol. 5, page 122. † Page 80, ed. 5.

about, and do not care to quit them, nor are used to climb walls. They had no better way then to get the fruit of those trees, whose luxuriant boughs ran over the walls of their enclosures, than by throwing their bludgeons at them, and gathering up the fruit that fell on the outside of the wall. To these things should be added,

Fifthly, That the word translated *arrows*, means not only those things that we are wont to call arrows, but such sticks as are thrown by the hand, as well as those missile weapons that are darted by means of a bow; for we find the word is made use of to express the staff of a spear, 1 Sam. xvii. 7, and consequently any piece of wood long in proportion to its diameter, especially if used as a missile instrument. The lords of arrows בעלי חצים *baalee chitseem*, for that is the Hebrew expression, conformable to an Eastern mode of speech, which we translate *archers*, is a natural description of the wild Arabs, those lords of bludgeons, in committing their depredations on the Eastern gardens and vineyards.

But this manner of treating the vine would not be advantageous; bunches of grapes are by no means thus to be dislodged, and the fall would spoil the fruit. But there are other trees whose fruit might thus be gathered; among the rest, I suppose the pomegranate, whose fruit has so hard a shell, as neither to be injured by the fall, or destroyed by an accidental blow of the sticks they used for pelting the tree.

The destroying a man is sometimes compared to the cutting down a tree: *I knew not*, said the Prophet Jeremiah, *that they had devised devices against me saying, Let us destroy the tree with the fruit thereof, and let us cut him off from the land of the living, that his name may be no more remembered*, Jer. xi. 19. But the envious brethren of Joseph did not imbrue their hands in his blood, they did not destroy him as men detroy a tree when they cut it down, but they terribly distressed him; they sold him for a slave into Egypt: he had flourished

in the favour of his father and of his God, like a tree by a reservoir of water; but they for a time dishonored him, as a tree is disgraced by the breaking its boughs, and knocking off its leaves, by the wild Arabs, who want to derive some advantage from battering it after this manner, when they cannot come at it to destroy it.

OBSERVATION XX.

OF THE TIME IN WHICH THE VINE LEAF FALLS OFF.

According to Dr. Richard Chandler's observations in the Lesser Asia, it seems that their tame cattle are very fond of vine leaves, and are permitted to eat them in the autumn: this may serve to illustrate a passage in the writings of Moses.

"The wine of Phygela," says the Doctor, "is commended by Dioscorides: and its territory was now green with vines. We had remarked, that about Smyrna the leaves were decayed, or stripped by the camels and herds of goats, which are admitted to browze after the vintage."*

He left Smyrna September 30,† and their vineyards were by that time stripped, though they still continued green at Phygela, the 5th or 6th of October.‡

I believe we may be very sure, that the leaves of the vineyards of Smyrna had not disappeared from natural decay the 30th of September, since they continue longer than that time in our climate; it must have been owing then to their camels and goats.

If those animals are so fond of vine leaves, it is no wonder that Moses, by an express law,‖ forbad a man's causing another man's vineyard to be eaten, by putting in his beast: since camels and goats are so fond of the leaves

* Trav. in Asia Minor, p. 142. † Page 110.

‡ Page 141. ‖ Exod. xxii, 5.

of the vine, and consequently the turning any of them in before the fruit was gathered, must have occasioned much mischief; and even after it must have been an injury, as it would have been eating up another's food.

If however these leaves were generally eaten by cattle, after the vintage was over, it seems to be rather difficult how to explain the Prophet's representing the dropping down of the stars of heaven, in a general wreck of the frame of nature, *by the falling of the leaf from the vine*, Is. xxxiv. 4. The leaves of many other trees fell in great numbers, but we are supposing few or none of the leaves of the vines in their vineyards dropped, the cattle being turned into their vineyards before these leaves were wont to drop, and being very fond of eating them.

I do not know how to account for this otherwise, than by reminding my reader, that though the ancient Israelites were in a manner universally concerned in agriculture, yet they did not live in detached habitations in the fields as many of our people of that class do, but in towns where the houses stood thick together, but with some trees planted near to them, whose shade their camels and goats were not permitted to destroy. To which is to be added, from St. Jerom, that the air is often so soft, even late in the autumn, as to admit, and even invite their sitting abroad, when the leaves were scattered on the ground, and consequently scattering from these domestic trees. And if not, they could not well avoid seeing them as they sat in their houses close by.

OBSERVATION XXI.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF WINES IN THE HOLY LAND.

THE wines produced in the Holy Land are, it seems, of different sorts, in consequence of the vines there being of different kinds.

This is common in other countries, and is expressly taken notice of by travellers as to the wine made by the monks of Canobine on Mount Lebanon, of which I have taken notice in another article: one sort being red, the best of the colour of gold.

There is, it is found, a like difference in the adjoining country. So the gentleman that travelled in these countries in 1774 remarked, that the grapes of the Holy Land that he saw were chiefly black, while those of Cœlo Syria are remarkable for their size, and mostly white. This implies that those he saw were, at least, comparatively speaking, smaller than the Syrian, as well as of a different colour.

Accordingly the Scriptures speak of *red wine*, Is. lxiii. 2; as well as of the *blood* of the grape, Deut. xxxii. 14, which term may, possibly, be designed to indicate its *colour*.*

The wine made from these black grapes he found very indifferent: whether from the real quality of the grape, or bad method of making the wines, he could not say.

But though this gentleman seems to have seen no grapes of a large size in Judea, as he had in Cœlo-Syria, yet there are some such growing there, though he happened not to see them; or at least there were a thousand years ago: for d'Herbelot tells us, in his Bibliotheque Orintale, from the Persian historian Khondemir, "that Jezid being in Palestine, which he calls Beled Arden, or the country of Jordan, and diverting himself in a garden with one of his women, of whom he was passionately fond, they set before him a collation of the most excellent fruits of that country: during this little repast, he threw a single grape to the lady, which she took, and putting it to her mouth to eat it, she let it slip down her throat, and being very

* The term *blood* there seems to refer to the colour of the juice of the grape, or of the wine produced by it, otherwise it is likely that a word signifying *tears* would have been used, answering to the marginal translation of Exod. xxii. 29.

large, such as that country produced, it stopped her breath, and stifled her in an instant."*

This surprising accident, which it seems threw the Khaliff into such a melancholy as brought that great prince to the grave, happened about the year of our LORD 1723; but Palestine has undergone great alteration since that time.

Doubdan, however, tells us, that travelling in the country about Bethlehem he found a most delightful valley, full not only of aromatic herbs and rose bushes, but planted with vines, which he supposed were of the choicest kind, and that it was indeed the valley of Eshcol, from whence the spies carried that prodigious branch of grapes to Moses, of which we read in the book of Numbers.† "It is true," says this writer, "I have seen no such bunches of grapes, not having been here in the time of the vintage; but the monks assured me that they still find here some that weigh ten or twelve pounds. As to the wine, I have tasted of it many times, and have always found it the most agreeable of that made in the Holy Land. It is a white wine, which has however something of a reddish cast, is somewhat of the muscadel kind, and very delicious to drink, without producing any bad effects."‡

There are then different kinds of grapes, produced in this country, some red, some white; and though they labour under great discouragements as to making of wine in Mohammedan countries, and consequently much of it may be poorly managed, one sort, at least, appeared very delicious to a person well acquainted with the wines of France.

* Art. Jezid Ben Abdalmalek.

† Ch. xiii. 23, 24.

‡ Voy. de la Terre Sainte, p. 154.

OBSERVATION XXII.

SUPERIOR EXCELLENCE OF THE WINE OF LEBANON.

It is surprising to me, that St. Jerom should seem not to have been acquainted with the excellency of the wine of Lebanon, which gives it the superiority above all the wines of that part of the world; and it seems to me almost as astonishing that commentators on the Prophet Hosea, should content themselves with quotations from ancient writers of the most vague kind, instead of positive evidences of its excellency.

That St. Jerom appears not to have been aware of the exquisiteness of this kind of wine, though he lived long in Judea, is sufficiently evident from what he says in his Commentary, on Hosea xiv. 7: *The scent thereof*, or, according to the marginal translation, the *memorial* thereof, *shall be as the wine of Lebanon;* on which he tells his readers,* "We may call that the wine of Lebanon which is mixed and prepared with some fragrant substance, that it may have the most delicious smell; or that may be called the wine of Lebanon which is poured out before the Lord in the temple, concerning which we read in Zechariah, *Open thy doors, O Lebanon.*" Could a man that wrote after this manner, know any thing at all of the natural exquisiteness of the taste of one sort of wine produced in Lebanon, and peculiar to it, therefore distinguished by the name of the place of its production?

The remarks that some later commentators have made, on the words of the Prophet, are almost as astonishing, being loose and indistinct accounts of the excellency of some of the wines produced in that part of the world, not appropriate to Lebanon. David Kimchi, the celebrated

* Vinum autem Libani possumus appellare mixtum & conditum thymiamate; ut odorem suavissimum habeat; vel vinum Libani quod Domino libatur in templo; de quo in Zacharia sub Libani vocabulo legimus: Aperi Libane portas tuas.

Jewish Rabbi, is in particular quoted,* as citing a physician who affirmed that the wine of Lebanon, of Hermon, of Carmel, of the mountains of Israel, and of Jerusalem, and of Caphtor, for smell, taste, and usefulness, for medical purposes, excelled all others. Is this a proper proof of the superior excellence of the wine of Lebanon above others? Is this any thing more than the putting it on a level with the rest of the wines of Judea, and those of Caphtor, which some of the learned have supposed to mean Crete?†

I should suppose the modern account of travellers, concerning the wine of Lebanon, must be much more satisfactory.

"The patriarch," says Rauwolff, speaking of his visiting Mount Libanus, "was very merry with us, and presented us with some Venice bottles of his wine, whereof we drank a good deal, for it was so pleasant that I must confess that I never in all my life drank any like it."‡ He afterward mentions his supping with the patriarch, and some of his fraternity, at Canobin, adding, "they treated us very well, and gave us some white wine to drink, which was better than that we drank on the hill," meaning some that was given him by the common Maronites in his ascent, "in Venice glasses, the like whereof is not to be found, neither in Candia nor Cyprus."‖

Le Bruyn is the next I would cite. His testimony is as follows. "But if it were only for what I am going to mention, Canobin§ would be preferable to all other places; that is, on account of their having there better and more delicate wines than are to be found any where else in the world. They are red, of a beautiful colour, and so oily that they adhere to the glass. Accordingly the Prophet Hosea derives a comparison from it, when he says, ch xiv.

* Vide Poli Syn. in loc. † Vitringa in Jsaiam, cap. 14.

‡ Ray's Coll. of Travels. p. 205. ‖ Page 207

§ A celebrated monastery on Mount Lebanon.

8, ... *the smell of each of them shall be as the wine of Lebanon* . . . . The other wines are not near so good there, but in much greater abundance. As the patriarch appeared to have a great esteem for us, he always caused the best to be given us. I found it so excellent, that I did not think I ever tasted any kind of drink more delicious."*

I will only add one more, Monsieur de la Roque, who, in an account of his travels in Syria, speaking of his visiting Canobin in Mount Lebanon, tells us that, when he was there, the greatest part of the monks were absent, engaged in their vintage. That they were invited by those that remained to dine there. That they accordingly ate with a venerable old man, who acted as the then superior of the house. That this good father entertained them very agreeably during the repast, which consisted of eggs and olives. To which he adds, " but it would be difficult to find elsewhere more excellent wines than what he gave us ; which caused us to think the reputation of the wines of Lebanon, of which the Prophet speaks, was well founded. These wines are of two sorts, the most common is the red, and the most exquisite is the colour of our muscadine wine ; they call it golden wine, on account of its colour."†

After this no doubt can be made of the excellency of the wine of Lebanon, and its superiority to those of the neighbourhood, and to those indeed elsewhere that have been most celebrated, the Cretan and that of Cyprus.

They are not indeed all the wines that grow on this mountain that are so superior in quality ; that presented by the peasants to Rauwolff was far inferior to that prepared for the patriarch. But when the wine of Lebanon is spoken of, by way of eminence, the best is undoubtedly meant ; Le Bruyn seems to have been mistaken, when he supposed he was distinguished by the patriarch, who treated him with red wine, that, though very excellent,

* Tom. 2, ch. 57 † Voy. de Syrie et du Mont Liban. tom. 1, p. 54, 55.

not being the best, which is, it seems, of the colour of gold, consequently a kind of white wine.

All that is further requisite to be added seems to be this, that it is the celebrity, or memorial, זכר *siker*, as it is translated in the margin, that seems to be meant by the Prophet, the scent of this rich wine not being the most remarkable of its qualities: to which is to be added, that the smell of Lebanon had been before mentioned; and that the word more properly signifies its being celebrated, or held in remembrance, than the exquisiteness of its smell.

How it came to pass, that Jerom was not sensible of this superiority, of some of the wines of Lebanon to those of other places, may be a subject of curious inquiry, but not necessary to the illustration of the passage I am considering here. Whether locusts had injured their vines in that age, and sunk the reputation of what they produced, which Dr. Shaw tells us was the cause of great degenerating of the wines of Algiers in his time; or whether it was owing to civil commotions in this mountain, in the time of St. Jerom, and there being no person there of such consequence as to engage them to take a due care in making their wines, in his time, I shall leave to others to inquire; but it is sufficiently plain that he was not aware of the superiority of this sort of wine.

OBSERVATION XXIII.*

CURIOUS EXPOSITION OF HOSEA XIV. 5, 7.

PERHAPS all the three verses of this paragraph of Hosea,† relating to the promise of GOD to Israel, to recover that people from the low state into which their in-

* N.B. This article, as well as the preceding, was written before the Bishop of Waterford paid me the obliging compliment of sending me his Translation of, and Comment on, the Twelve Minor Prophets.

† Hosea xiv. 5, 6, 7.

iquities had brought them, may be best illustrated by dividing it in some such a way as this:

I will be as the dew to Israel;
He shall flourish as the lily, and cast forth his roots:
As Lebanon his branches shall shoot out;
And his beauty shall be as the olive tree;
And fragrance shall be to him like that of Lebanon.
They that dwell under his shadow shall recover,
They shall revive as a garden, and they shall flourish as a vine:
His memorial* shall be like the wine of Lebanon.

St. Jerom has gone before me, in the manner in which I have divided the things contained in the second and third lines; and as a caph כ is apparently wanting in the 7th verse, and is supposed to be so by our translators, who have supplied the want of it by inserting the particle *as*, which the caph signifies, *they shall revive as the corn*, I think it is no harsh conjecture to suppose that the daleth, ד the first letter of the word דגן *dagan*, translated corn, was originally a caph; and if it were, the two remaining letters גן *gan*, will signify a garden, which reading is extremely natural.

This reading, however, does not appear in the various lections of Dr. Kennicott, and can only be considered as a conjecture.

The image in general made use of here by Hosea, is the change that takes place upon the descent of the dew of autumn on the before parched earth, where every thing appeared dead or dying, upon which they immediately become lively and delightful. Israel by their sins reduced themselves into a wretched disgraceful state, like that of the earth when no rain or dew has descended for a long time: but God promised he would heal their backslidings, and would restore them to a flourishing state.

The gentleman that visited the Holy Land in autumn 1774, found the dews very copious then, as well as the rain, and particularly observed, in journeying from Jeru-

* Israel's.

salem, a very grateful scent arising from the aromatic herbs growing there, such as rosemary, wild thyme, balm, &c. *I will be,* saith GOD, *that to Israel, that the dew is to the parched earth when for a long time there has been neither dew nor rain.* So Moses supposes the great advantage of dew to vegetation, in his blessing the posterity of Joseph.*

If the fragrant herbs between Jerusalem and Joppa afforded such a grateful smell, as to engage this ingenious traveller to remark it in his Journal, the scent of Lebanon must have been exquisite, for Mr. Maundrell found the great rupture in that mountain, in which Canobia is situated, had "both sides exceeding steep and high, clothed with fragrant greens from top to bottom, and every where refreshed with fountains, falling down from the rocks in pleasant cascades; the ingenious work of nature." No other illustration is wanted of that line,

"Fragrance shall be to him like that of Lebanon."

It will in like manner be sufficient as to the second line, to set down a passage from Dr. Russell's account of the natural history of Aleppo: "after the first rains in the autumn, the fields every where throw out the autumnal lily daffodil; and the very few plants which had stood the summer now grow with fresh vigour."† Only adding, that Rauwolff found this kind of lily, which he calls hemerocallis, in the Holy Land,‡ as well as about Tripoli.‖

The other trees of Lebanon, as well as the cedars, are admired by travellers on account of their enormous size, which is the circumstance alluded to in the third line. So de la Roque, describing his ascending this mountain, says, the further they advanced, the more hermitages

* Deut. xxxiii. 13.

† Vol. i. c. 3.

‡ Page 47, where he describes them as a kind of wild white lilies, by the Latins and Greeks called *hemerocallis.*

‖ Page 206.

they met with, together with the little chapels belonging to them; and the loftier the trees, which for the most part were plane trees, cypresses, and evergreen oaks:* and Rauwolff, after mentioning several kinds of trees and herbs which he found there, goes on, but chiefly, and in the greatest number, were the maple trees, which are large, big, high, and expand themselves very much with their branches. But, above all, the size of the cedars attracts admiration: "I measured," says Maundrell, "one of the largest, and found it twelve yards, six inches in girt, and yet sound; and thirtyseven yards in the spread of its boughs. At about five or six yards from the ground, it was divided into five limbs, each of which was equal to a great tree."† No other comment is wanting for the line,

"As Lebanon his branches shall shoot out."

The beauty of the olive tree is frequently mentioned in Scripture, and being considered elsewhere, I shall say nothing about it here.

And not only was Israel to regain its former prosperity, but those smaller tribes of people that were connected with Israel, and shared in its depression, which are described by the words *dwelling under his shadow.*

They were to revive as the corn, or rather as a garden. Corn is not at all remarkable for reviving.‡ It can bear

* Page 142. † Tome 1, p. 48, 49.

‡ The contrary to this I know to be fact. Corn, in its first sprouting out, makes a beautiful appearance; but when the first spires begin to fall down on the earth, to make way for the stalk, the whole appears withered and comparatively dead. In a short time after this, the tender stem, with its concomitant branches, begins to shoot forth, and the whole field appears revivified. Hence that rhyming couplet used in several countries:

"Visit your corn in *May*, and you'll come weeping away:
But visit your corn in *June*, and you'll come whistling home."

However ingenious the emendation proposed by Mr. Harmer above, may appear, I mean the change of דָּגָן *dagan*, corn, into כְּגַן kegan, *like a garden*, there is certainly no need of it here, as the words convey a very natural and appropriate sense as they stand in the present Hebrew text. EDIT.

considerable drought, and it was wont to be reaped in Judea, before the cessation of the rains, or immediately after. But a garden must have often suffered for want of proper supplies of water, and accordingly Isaiah threatens, *Ye shall be as an oak whose leaf fadeth, and as a garden that hath no water*, ch. i. 30.

The last of these eight lines seems to refer to a vine that had been stripped of its leaves, and afterward flourishing again, recovering its lost verdure. Several trees will do this, but a vine, being of such consequence to the comfort of their lives, would be very particularly remarked, and might be oftener stripped of its leaves than other trees. Locusts left many sorts of trees bare, when they came as a scourge to a country, as well as the vine, as we read Joel i. 12; but it may be that vines lost their leaves, not unfrequently, from some cause peculiar to them, as was the case with respect to young figs, according to the representation of a Prophet, Is. xxxiv. 4. A vine's recovering its leaves, after having lost them, from whatever cause it might proceed, was certainly a lively image of the recovering of the dependencies on the Jewish kingdoms, from that state of affliction which they had shared in common with Israel: slowly, perhaps, in some respects, as is the case with the vine, according to Dr. Shaw, but however to a very desirable degree. "The wine of Algiers, before the locusts destroyed the vineyards in the years 1722 and 1724, was not inferior to the best hermitage either in briskness of taste or flavour. But since that time it is much degenerated, having not hitherto, 1732, recovered its usual qualities; though, even with this disadvantage, it may still dispute the preference with the common wines of Spain or Portugal."* As to the wine of Lebanon, it has been considered in another article.

* Shaw's Trav. p. 146.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

FIRES OFTEN MADE IN THE FIELDS, TO BURN UP THE DRY HERBAGE, PREVIOUS TO THE AUTUMNAL RAINS.

It is a common custom in the East, to set the dry herbage on fire, before the descent of the autumnal rains, which fires, for want of care, often do great damage. It is no wonder then that Moses has taken notice of fires of this kind,* and by an express law, made those liable to make all damages good, who either maliciously, or by great negligence, occasioned them, and may serve to illustrate that passage.

Dr. Chandler, speaking of the neighbourhood of Smyrna, says, "In the latter end of July, clouds began to appear from the south. The air was repeatedly cooled by showers, which had fallen elsewhere, and it was easy to foretel the approaching rain. This was the season for consuming the dry herbage and undergrowth on the mountains; and we often saw the fire blazing in the wind, and spreading a thick smoke along their sides.†

The same ingenious traveller, in another place,‡ mentions the alarming effects of a fire kindled by accident. Having been employed, the latter end of August, in taking a plan, and two views of a principal ruin at Troas; he goes on, "we dined under a spreading tree before the arcade, and had just resumed our labour, when we were almost reduced to fly with precipitation. One of the Turks, coming to us, emptied the ashes from his pipe, and a spark of fire fell unobserved in the grass, which was long, parched by the sun, and inflammable like tinder. A brisk wind soon kindled a blaze, which withered in an instant the leaves of the bushes and trees in its way, seized the branches and roots, and devoured all before it with prodigious crackling and noise, and with a thick smoke; leaving the

* Exod. xxii. 6. † Page 276. ‡ Page 30, 31.

ground black, and the stones hot. We were much alarmed, as a general conflagration of the country seemed likely to ensue. The Turks with their sabres cut down boughs, and we all began buffetting the flames, which were at length subdued; the ruins somewhat retarding their progress, and enabling us to combat them more effectually. The struggle lasted about an hour, and a considerable tract of ground was laid waste. Close by was an area, with dry matted grass, where no exertion could have delayed it for a moment, but the fire must have acquired a mastery, and have ravaged uncontrolled, until repelled by the wind."

These fires are mentioned in three or four other places of this volume of Travels, but they were all in autumn. However, as the summers of the East are perfectly dry, and the drought begins some time before harvest, the law of Moses very properly mentions standing corn as liable to be destroyed by fire. Two instances are accordingly mentioned in Scripture, in which the standing corn was set on fire and destroyed, Judges xv. 5, and 2 Sam. xiv. 30.

Moses, in that passage of Exodus, mentions stacks of corn along with the standing corn, and other damage that might be done to a field: *If fire break out, and catch in thorns, so that the stacks of corn, or the standing corn, or the field be consumed therewith: he that kindleth the fire shall surely make restitution.* That part of the history of Sampson just now cited, explains what kind of damage might be done to a field, besides the consuming the corn there: *And when he had set the brands on fire, he let them go into the standing corn of the Philistines, and burnt up both the shocks, and also the standing corn, with the vineyards and olives.**

* The Arabs now are wont, in making war, to cut down olive trees, but this passage shows the olive trees were sometimes burnt, which is supposed also in Jer. xi. 16, *A green olive tree; with the noise of a great tumult he hath kindled fire upon it.*

So in one of the conflagrations Dr. Chandler saw in the Lesser Asia, he says,* "We had been exposed this day, without any shelter, to the sun. An accidental fire had scorched the bushes by the way, and destroyed their leaves, and the ground was bare and parched." A few pages after† there is a stronger description of this fire: "The slopes," speaking of a mountain of marble over which he passed, "were covered with large pines, many scorched or fallen, and some then on fire. The conflagration, we have before mentioned, had extended far into the country, spreading wide, as driven on and directed by the wind." How destructive is fire in those hot countries, in the summer heats, not only to the parched grass and weeds, but to shrubs and lofty trees too!‡

It was highly necessary then to guard against such devastions, more especially, as nothing is more common there than the shepherds continuing abroad all night with their flocks, but not without fires: we have a multitude of instances of that kind in this volume.

It will be sufficient to quote one in the beginning‖ of these travels; "We could discern fires on Lesbos, as before on several islands and capes, made chiefly by fishermen and shepherds, who live much abroad in the air; or to burn the strong stalks of the Turkey wheat and the dry herbage on the mountains. In the day time a column of smoke often ascends, visible afar."

How requisite was great caution in a country where fires in the open air were so common, on the one hand; and the herbage of the ground so parched and dry on the other! and to make them cautious, how necessary was an express law!

It is well known that heaps of corn are not long left in their fields: they are soon trodden out. This writer

* Page 180. † Page 192.

‡ Severe as such devastations may be, something more terrible seems to be meant by Jeremiah, ch. li. 25, namely, a volcano. To which St. John also seems to allude, Rev. viii. 8. ‖ Page 10.

himself takes notice of it. The harvest, he and his companions observed, in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, was in June, and the heat then was excessive. He adds, "The harvest was presently over. The sheaves were collected in the field, and the grain trodden out by buffaloes." P. 276. Moses then, by particularly mentioning the corn in its heaps, after being cut, intimates, that in that law, he had a particular view to designed and malicious conflagrations, since the corn lies in the heap but a very little while, and yet it is expressly mentioned, as what might probably be its state, when a fire was kindled.

This circumstance discovers an impropriety in our translation of Exod. xxii. 6, where these heaps are called *stacks* of corn. The stacking of corn, in our agricultural language, means, the collecting corn in the straw into heaps, larger or smaller as it happens, designed to continue for some considerable space of time; whereas the heaps of the East are only the disposing the corn into a proper form, to be immediately trodden out. They are not wont to stack corn, in our sense of the word, in those countries.

The term *shock*, by which the word גדיש *gadeesh* is translated in two other places, is less exceptionable, but not perfectly expressive of the original idea. We put together, or heap up our corn, not fully ripe, in parcels which are called shocks, that it may more perfectly ripen after being cut, but the original word גדיש *gadeesh*, means an heap of corn fully ripe, see Job v. 26, means, in a word, the heaps of the Eastern threshing floors, ready to be trodden out.

The substances on which fire is supposed first to fasten, is expressed by a word which is translated in our version *thorns*, and is rendered so nine times out of the ten in which it occurs, in the tenth it is *thistles*; but as a kindred word is translated *summer*, and *summer fruits*, may it not be queried then, whether it does not properly signify, the vegetables that are wont to wither and grow so sear

as easily to catch fire? of which many may be of the prickly kind, which quality is undoubtedly pointed out, in some of the places in which this Hebrew word is used, though not all, and among the rest thistles,* which seared vegetables Dr. Chandler calls the *undergrowth*, p. 276.

I will only add further, that the setting the grass and undergrowth on fire in the East, has been practised in these countries to annoy their enemies, and has sometimes occasioned great terror and distress. I remember to have seen an account of the making use of this stratagem, in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*. It appears also, I think, to have been practised anciently, from those words in Isaiah: *When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee*, ch. xliii. 2.

So we find, in Dr. Hawksworth's account of the late voyages to the South Seas, the wild inhabitants of New South Wales endeavoured to destroy some tents and stores, belonging to Captain Cook's ship, when he was endeavouring to repair its damages, by setting fire to the long grass of that country, and it had like to have been attended with terrible consequences. It appears then to be a stratagem naturally made use of, by nations little advanced in the arts of human life, and consequently, it may be supposed, by the people of antiquity.

OBSERVATION XXV

DIFFERENT KINDS OF DESTRUCTIVE INSECTS IN JUDEA.

We are so little acquainted with the various species of destructive insects that ravage the Eastern countries, that

* Which are represented by Dr. Russell, in his account of the natural history of Aleppo, as dry in the deserts, and eaten by the camels in that state, as they pass through those parched places.

it may be thought extremely difficult to determine what kind was meant by Solomon, in his prayer at the dedication of the Temple, 2 Chron. vi. 28, by the word חסיל *chaseel*, which our version renders *caterpillars*, and which is distinguished by him there from the locusts, which genus is so remarkable for eating up almost every green thing; but a passage of Sir John Chardin may, probably, illustrate that part of Solomon's address to him whom he considered as the GOD of universal nature.

The paragraph of Solomon's prayer is this: *When heaven is shut up, and there is no rain, because they have sinned against thee; if they pray towards this place*, &c. . . .. *If there be in the land famine, if there be pestilence, blasting, mildew, locust, or if there be caterpillars; if their enemy besiege them in the land of their cities*, &c. . . *Then hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and forgive, and do*, &c.

The causes of famine, reckoned up here, are want of rain, blasting, mildew, locusts, and caterpillars, according to our translation: with which may be compared the following passage of the above mentioned very observing traveller, in the second tome of his Travels.*

"Persia is subject to have its harvest spoiled by hail, by drought, or by insects, either locusts, or small insects, which they call *sim*, which are small white lice,† which fix themselves on the foot of the stalk of corn, gnaw it, and make it die. It is rare for a year to be exempt from one or the other of these scourges, which affect the ploughed lands and the gardens," &c.

The enumeration by Solomon, and that of this modern writer, though not exactly alike, yet so nearly resemble

* Page 245.

† *Pucerons* is the French term, which is often translated vine fretters; but as I apprehend many of the small insects which live upon various kinds of vegetables, as well as animals, are called *lice*, I thought these small insects which destroy the stalks of corn, would be better expressed by the term lice, than vine fretters, which, by their name, should be supposed rather to injure vineyards than corn fields.

each other, that one would be inclined to believe, these small insects are what Solomon meant, by the word translated caterpillars in our English version.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

CURIOUS ACCOUNT OF LOCUSTS.

It seems that the *movements* of locusts are not always the same way: they have sometimes been observed to come from the southward; but those the Prophet Joel speaks of, were to come in an opposite direction,* and they have sometimes been accordingly known to come from the north.

Some may have been ready to imagine, on this account, that Joel was speaking not of real locusts, but of the Chaldeans,† or some other desolating army of men that should come from the north. But the Baron de Tott assures us, that he found them coming in great numbers from Tartary toward Constantinople, which lies to the south of that country.

"I saw no appearance of culture on my route, because the Noguais‡ avoid the cultivation of frequented places. Their harvest by the sides of roads would serve only as pasture to travellers' horses. But if this precaution preserves them from such kind of depredation, nothing can protect their fields from a much more fatal scourge. Clouds of locusts frequently alight on their plains, and giving the preference to their fields of millet, ravage them in an instant. Their approach darkens the horizon, and so enormous is their multitude, it hides the light of the sun.

* Ch. ii. 20 "But I will remove far from you the northern army, and will drive him into a land barren and desolate, with his face toward the east sea, and his hinder part toward the utmost sea; and his stink shall come up, and his ill savour shall come up."

† So St. Jerom in his Comment on Joel. ‡ The Tartars.

When the husbandmen happen to be sufficiently numerous, they sometimes divert the storm, by their agitation and their cries; but when they fail, the locusts alight on their fields, and there form a bed of six or seven inches thick. To the noise of their flight succeeds that of their devouring activity; it resembles the rattling of hail stones, but its consequences are infinitely more destructive. Fire itself eats not so fast, nor is there a vestige of vegetation to be found, when they again take their flight, and go elsewhere to produce like disasters.

"This plague, no doubt, would be more extensive in countries better cultivated; and Greece and Asia Minor would be more frequently exposed, did not the Black Sea swallow up most of those swarms which attempt to pass that barrier.

"I have often seen the shores of the Pontus Euxinus, toward the Bosphorus of Thrace, covered with their dried remains, in such multitudes, that one could not walk along the strand without sinking half leg deep into a bed of these skinny skeletons. Curious to know the true cause of their destruction, I sought the moment of observation, and was a witness of their ruin by a storm, which overtook them so near the shore, that their bodies were cast upon the land, while yet entire. This produced an infection so great, that it was several days before they could be approached."*

They frequently then, according to this writer, in that part of the world pass, or attempt to pass, from the north to the south. In Judea they have been supposed to go from the south eastward in a contrary direction.†

And if this is the common route they take there, it must have struck the Jews very much when they found the Prophet predicting the going of the locusts to the south-

* Memoirs, part 2, p. 58—60.

† See le Bruyn, tome 2, p. 152; *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 424; and, I think, Hasselquist. St. Jerom in his Comment supposes the same, and that their usual progress is from the southward.

ward; and still more so when they found it exactly accomplished, as it was a demonstration of the perfect foreknowledge of JEHOVAH, perhaps of his guiding and directing those vast bodies of insects. *The locusts*, it is said, *have no king, yet go they forth by bands*, Prov. xxx. 27. But if they have no king of their own species, they are undoubtedly under the direction of the GOD that made them: he is their king.

There is an account, in the 10th vol. Philos. Trans. abridged, of locusts that penetrated into Transylvania from Walachia and Moldavia, in which the writer tells us, that in changing their place of residence, they seem to tend to warmer climates.* If that should be found to be the fact in those countries, their attempting to pass from Tartary into Greece, or the Lesser Asia, had nothing wonderful in it; but as it is generally observed, they fly from the south in Barbary and other hot countries, there should be an intermediate country, in which the change in the temperature of the air may cause them in a warmer summer to fly northward, and in one that is cooler to go southward. Whether the north part of Syria may be of such kind of temperature I do not find any where mentioned.

The meeting with this observation of the Baron de Tott, gave, I have found, extreme pleasure to an ingenious and very learned clergyman, as a happy illustration of this place in Joel. It would give me, I confess, a more entire satisfaction, if I could find that in Syria they had passed southward, and so through Judea into the nearer part of Arabia, in some years; as in others they have come from Arabia, and gone to the northward.

After I had written the preceding paragraphs, I happened, in reviewing Niebuhr's description of Arabia on another account, to meet with his remarks on locusts, according to which they fly in different, and sometimes

contrary directions, very much as the wind blows. The second time he saw them, they came to Cairo, in Egypt by a S. W wind, consequently from the deserts of Lybia. In November 1762, a great number of them passed off Dsjidda, by a westerly wind, consequently over the Red Sea, which is very broad there, and where many of them perished. In May, when the dates began to ripen, many of them arrived at Mokha: commonly they return back again the next day, or else continue their flight to the mountains that lie eastward. On May 31, 1763, a great number of them passed over that city from the south, northward; and the first of June they went from the north to the south. Consequently they fly in all directions, and Niebuhr found them sometimes flying from the north to the south in Arabia.* He afterward informs us, that in the road from Mosul to Nissebîn, he found a large extent of ground, covered with young locusts, not bigger than bees, which might be called therefore the place where they had their nests.† Now, according to this, if an east wind should have blown for some days, after they became capable of flying, they would have been brought into the north part of Syria, and a north wind would have drove them in the direction Joel mentions, or nearly so. From that place in Mesopotamia to Jerusalem, as he was informed, was only eight days' journey in a west direction, somewhat inclining to the south. This was the very direction that the Assyrian and Babylonian armies were wont to take, when they came into Judea. A similar description would do for both, as to the point of the compass to which they directed their march.‡

* Page 148, 149. † Page 149.

‡ Niebuhr, in the first of his three volumes of travels, gives us an account, in like manner, of the locusts sometimes coming from the eastward to the southwest, in Arabia. "Never," says he, "have I seen them in such numbers as in the dry plain between Mount Sumâra and Jerim; for there are places where they might be swept up with the hands. We saw

OBSERVATION XXVII.

SMALL FLIES VERY TROUBLESOME, AND OFTEN DESTRUCTIVE IN JUDEA.

We, perhaps, may be a good deal surprised to find, that the *driving away of flies*, should be thought by the inhabitants of the country about Ekron so important, that they should give a name to the idol they worshipped, expressive of that property;* more especially when this was not the only quality ascribed to him, but it was supposed the power of predicting such momentous matters, as the continuance of the life of great princes, or their approaching death, did also belong to him:† but possibly a passage in Vinisauf may lessen this astonishment.

Vinisauf, speaking of the army under our Richard the first, a little before he left the Holy Land, and describing them as marching on the plain not far from the sea coast, toward a place called Ybelin, which belonged to the knights hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem, pretty near Hebron, says, "The army stopping a while there, rejoicing in the hope of speedily setting out for Jerusalem, were assailed by a most minute kind of fly, flying about like sparks, which they called *cincinnellæ*. With these the whole neighbouring region round about was filled. These most wretchedly infested the pilgrims, piercing with great smartness the hands, necks, throats, foreheads, and faces, and every part that was uncovered, a most violent

an Arab who had gathered a sack full, in order to dry them, and keep for his winter provision. When the rain ceases but a few hours, on the west side of the mountain, there come such numerous legions from the side of the east, that the peasants of Mensil were obliged to drive them away from their fields, that they might not entirely destroy their fruits. This precaution would have been useless in the country of Jerim, because they had established themselves there as in their proper abode, so long as that country is without rain." P. 320.

* Baalzebub, lord of the fly. † See 2 King i. 2.

burning tumour following the punctures made by them, so that all that they stung looked like lepers." He adds, "that they could hardly guard themselves from this most troublesome vexation, by covering their heads and necks with veils."*

What these fire flies were, and whether they shone in the dark, and for that reason are compared to sparks flying about, or whether they were compared to them on the account of the burning heat they occasioned, as well as a swelling in the flesh of all they wounded, I shall not take upon me to determine. I would only observe, Richard and his people met with them in that part of the country, which seemed to be of the country which was not very far from Ekron, and which seemed to be of much the same general nature: a plain not far from the sea coast.

Can we wonder, after this recital, that those poor heathens that lived in and about Ekron, derived much consolation from the supposed power of the idol they worshipped, to drive away the cincinellæ of that country, which were so extremely vexatious to these pilgrims of the 12th century, and occasioned them so much pain. Lord of the fly, lord of these cincinellæ, must have appeared to them a very pleasing, a very important title.

I will only add, that Sandys, in his travels in the same country, but more to the northward, speaks of the air's appearing as if full of *sparkles of fire*, borne to and fro with the wind, after much rain and a thunderstorm, which appearance of sparkles of fire he attributes to infinite swarms of flies that shone like glow worms;† but he gives not the least intimation of their being incommoded by them.

What this difference was owing to, it is quite beside the design of these papers to inquire; whether its being about two months earlier in the year, more to the northward, or immediately after much rain and a thunderstorm,

* Hist. Angl. Scrip. quinque, vol 2, p. 396. † Page 158.

was the cause of the innoxiousness of these animals when Sandys travelled, and even whether the appearance Sandys speaks of, was really owing to insects, or any effect of electricity, I leave to others to determine.

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF GOATS IN JUDEA.

Dr. Russell observed two sorts of goats about Aleppo: one that differed little from the common sort in Britain; the other remarkable for the length of its ears. The size of the animal, he tells us, is somewhat larger than ours, but their ears are often a foot long, and broad in proportion. That they were kept chiefly for their milk, of which they yielded no inconsiderable quantity.*

The present race of goats in the vicinity of Jerusalem, are of this broad eared species, as I have been assured by a gentleman that lately† visited the Holy Land, who was struck with the difference between the goats there, and those that he saw in countries not far distant from Jerusalem. "They are," he says, "black and white, and some gray, with remarkable long ears, rather larger and longer legged than our Welch goats." "This kind of animal," he observed, "in some neighbouring places, differed greatly from the above description, those of Balbec in particular, which were generally, if not always, so far as he observed, of the other species.

These last I presume, are of the sort common in Great Britain, as those about Jerusalem are mostly of the long eared kind; and it seems they were of the same long eared kind that were kept anciently in Judea, from the words of the Prophet, *As the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear, so shall the children of Israel be taken out that dwell in Samaria, ... and in Damascus.*‡

* Vol. 2, p. 150. † In 1774. ‡ Amos iii. 12.

Though it is indeed the intention of the Prophet, to express the smallness of that part of Israel that escaped from destruction, and were seated in foreign countries; yet it would have been hardly natural, to have supposed a shepherd would exert himself, to make a lion, quit a piece only of an ear of a common goat: it must be supposed to refer to the large eared kind.

It is rather amusing to the imagination, and a subject of speculation, that the same species of goat should chiefly prevail about Jerusalem, now chiefly kept in the Holy Land, should have been the same species that were reared there two thousand five hundred years ago. Is it the nature of the country, or the quality of the food of it, that is the occasion of the continuance of this breed, without deviation, from very remote times?

Rauwolff observed goats about Jerusalem with hanging ears, almost two feet long;* but he neither mentions their being all, or mostly of that species, nor that it is another species that is most commonly kept in some of the neighbouring countries.

Whether the kids of the two species are equally delicious, travellers have not informed us, but it appears from Hariri, a celebrated writer of Mesopotamia, that some kids at least are considered as a delicacy; for describing a person's breaking in upon a great pretender to mortification, he found him with one of his disciples, entertaining themselves, in much satisfaction, with bread made of the finest flour, with a roasted kid, and a vessel of wine before them.† This last is an indulgence forbidden the Mohammedans, and with bread of the finest flour, proves that a roasted kid is looked upon as a very great delicacy.

This shows in what light we are to consider the gratification proposed to be sent to Tamar, Gen. xxxviii. 16, 17; the present made by Sampson to his intended bride,

* Page 234.

† Hariri, translated by Chappelow, Arabic Prof. at Cambridge, 1st Assembly, p. 7.

Judg. xv. 1; and what was the complaint, made by the elder brother of the prodigal son, that his father had never given him a kid to entertain his friends with: he might have enabled him to give them some slight repast; but never qualified him to treat them with such a delicacy, Luke xv. 29.

OBSERVATION XXIX.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF SHEEP AT ALEPPO.

In like manner Dr. Russell* observes, there are two kinds of sheep about Aleppo: the Bedouin sheep, which differ in no respect from the larger kinds of sheep in Britain, except that their tails are somewhat longer and thicker; the other, a sort often mentioned by travellers on account of their extraordinary tails, which are very broad and large, terminating in a small appendix that turns back upon it. These tails, Russell informs us, are of a substance between fat and marrow, and are not eaten separately, but mixed with the lean meat in many of their dishes, and also often used instead of butter. That a common sheep of this kind, without the head, feet, skin, and entrails, weighs sixty or seventy English pounds,† of which the tail usually weighs fifteen pounds, and upwards. This species, he observes, is, by much, the most numerous.

It might then be thought very probable, that this species too may be the most numerous about Jerusalem. We are not however left to conjecture; for the same ingenious and obliging gentleman, that gave me the account of the goats in the vicinity of Jerusalem, informed me, at the same time, that the sheep of that country are, in gen-

* Vol. 2, p. 147.

† But such, he tells us, in the same paragraph, as are of the largest breed, and have been fattened, will sometimes weigh above one hundred and fifty pounds, and the tails of them fifty, a thing to some scarcely credible.

eral, white, with large tails, resembling those of Syria, and the plain of Damascus.

After this account of the kind of sheep that are found near Jerusalem, and Dr. Russell's account of the largeness and deliciousness of their tails, we shall not wonder, that since fat was reserved as sacred to God, by the Mosaic law, Moses, among other things, should order, that when a sacrifice of the peace offerings should be made by the fire of the LORD, that fat thereof, and particularly the whole rump, or tail, taken off hard by the back bone, &c. should be burnt on the altar.* Though the ordering in particular, and by express words, that the tail of a British sheep should be presented in sacrifice to GOD might surprise us, the wonder ceases when we are told of those broad tailed Eastern sheep, and the extreme delicacy of that part, and withal are informed that the sheep about Jerusalem, are of that species.

OBSERVATION XXX.

OF SOME PECULIAR QUADRUPEDS MENTIONED IN SCRIPTURE.

As Moses mentions only two sorts of quadrupeds, in our version, of those wont to be eaten, but forbidden the Jews, besides the camel and swine, and there are four or five sorts at least in those countries, of the smaller kind of animals, which are eaten there, and which seem equally to come under his intention, and some of them a good deal resembling each other, I should suppose it improbable, that two animals, so much like to each other as the hare and the rabbit, should be exclusively meant by the two Hebrew words used in Lev. xi. ver. 5, 6, † and the other

* Lev. iii. 9.

† "And the coney, because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof; he is unclean unto you And the hare, because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof; he is unclean unto you."

smaller beasts, very commonly eaten by other people, be passed over in perfect silence by Moses.

The two words are שפן *shaphan* ארנבת and *aronebeth*. Dr. Shaw supposes* the shaphan means an animal of Mount Libanus, which he saw, and which he tells us is common in other places of Syria; but I would remark, not so common, but that he describes it, in the preceding paragraph, as a curious animal that he had the good fortune to see. He says, "though this animal is known to burrow sometimes in the ground; yet, as its usual residence and refuge is in the holes and clefts of the rocks, we have so far a more presumptive proof, that this creature may be the shaphan of the Scripture, than the *jerboa*," which he tells us, in a preceding page,† "has been taken by some authors for the shaphan of the Scriptures, though the places where I have seen them burrow have never been among rocks; but either in a stiff loamy earth, or else, where their haunts usually are, in the loose sands of Sahara; especially where it is supposed by the spreading roots of spartum, spurge laurel, or other the like plants."

The same reason, which in a matter of this sort seems to be sufficiently decisive, holds equally, I apprehend, against the rabbit, which if the other word *aronebeth* signifies the hare, may come under that denomination, as a different kind of *aronebeth* smaller than the other, but of much the same appearance.

But though the circumstance of making the rocks its refuge‡ may determine the mind, as to that animal called *daman Israel*, that it comes under that denomination; it does not therefore follow, that the *jird* and the *jerboa* are excluded, they might be considered as different sorts of the shaphan. They are both good to eat, Shaw tells us,† which is more than he says of the *daman Israel*, but that circumstance, of its being frequently eaten in those countries, is supposed the prohibition of Moses: it being

* Page 348. † Page 177. ‡ Ps. cxliv. 18.

absolutely needless, to forbid the making use of an animal for food which no one ever used for that purpose.

Shaw describes the daman Israel "as an harmless creature, of the same size and quality with the rabbit; and with the like incurvating posture and disposition of the fore teeth. But it is of a browner colour, with smaller eyes, and a head more pointed, like the marmots."*

Now this difference of the make of the head might be observed, and appears in fact actually to form a considerable distinction of this species from the rabbit and the hare, which extremely resembles each other. Thus Doubdan, in his account of an animal, taken at Mount Tabor, which, I apprehend, was of that species that Dr. Shaw calls the daman Israel, gives a description of it, in which this pointedness of the head is particularly marked out. It may not be improper to set down a translation of the passage.

Speaking of this mountain he says, "It is at present a place to which wild beasts repair, among which there is a certain kind of wild creature, one of which was taken there the very day we were at it, by a Moor, who brought it to the convent at Nazareth, and the reverend Father Guardian desired me to carry it to St. John d'Acre, and to make a present of it in his name to the captain of the vessel in which we were to return into Christendom, which was then at that port. This animal was of that kind which the Holy Scriptures, in the eleventh chapter of Leviticus, calls *cherogryllus*,† which somewhat resembles the porcupine and the hedgehog: for it has a slender pointed head, streaked with white and black, the ears small; the legs before low and short, those behind much higher; the claws long and sharp; the hair gray, like bristles, harsh and very long; as to the rest extremely

* Page 348.

† He means the vulgar Latin, which so translates the word *shaphan* there.

savage, and which gave me a great deal of trouble and a thousand scratches in the journey."*

It is an inhabitant of the Holy Land, according to both writers; but not very common, being understood by both to be a curiosity. They also agree in their account of the remarkable difference, in point of length, between the hind and the fore feet; as also in the pointedness of the head, which, instead of comparing it to a rabbit, led Doubdan to liken it to a porcupine and the hedgehog, as well as on account of the roughness of the coating.

Both those animals, it seems, are very common in those countries, and the flesh of the porcupine, when fat and young, is very well tasted, and in great esteem, according to Dr. Shaw;† and a paper in the Philosophical Transactions,‡ written by Mr. Jezreel Jones, assures us, that among the Moors of West Barbary, the hedgehog is a princely dish. They are both wont now to be eaten in the Levant, and might be made use of for food before the time of Moses, and might be reckoned among the several species of the *shaphan*, and so expressly be forbidden to be eaten. But whether it be admitted or not, that the word *shaphan* includes all those smaller four footed animals with a slender head that were used for food, and the word *aronebeth* those smaller quadrupeds used for food, which had large heads, I can never persuade myself, that those two Hebrew words in Leviticus mean two species of animals so nearly resembling each other, as the hare and the rabbit, that even modern naturalists put them under the single name *lepus*,‖ which in common Latin means a hare exclusively; and if the word *aronebeth* is to be taken in a like extensive sense, the word *shaphan* may naturally include more species than

* Voyage de la Terre-Sainte, p. 505. † Page 176.

‡ Phil. Trans. abridg. vol. iii. part 2, ch. 3, art. 35.

‖ See Dr. Berkenhout's Outlines of the Nat. Hist. of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 1.

the *daman Israel*, if not all the several sorts of sharp nosed quadrupeds that were commonly eaten, particularly the jerboa, which is so common in the deserts, where the book of Leviticus was written, as the leporine kind, including both hares and rabbits, is also known to reside there in great numbers."*

Our translation is evidently rather suited to our circumstances in England, where hardly any other wild quadrupeds of the smaller sort are eaten, but hares and rabbits, than to Asiatic customs, and the beasts that reside in Arabian deserts.

OBSERVATION XXXI.

JUDEA AT PRESENT SWARMS WITH DANGEROUS WILD BEASTS.

It is supposed in the Old Testament, that if Judea should be thinly peopled, the wild beasts would so multiply there as to render it dangerous to the inhabitants. Every body knows that country is not now very populous, and accordingly wild beasts are at present so numerous there, as to be terrifying to strangers.

The Lord *thy* God *will put out those nations before thee by little and little: thou mayest not consume them at once, lest the beasts of the field increase upon thee*, are the words of Moses, Deut. vii. 22, and are founded on the supposition I have been mentioning. The Prophet Ezekiel supposes the same, in a passage in which he describes the mercy granted to the land of Israel after its being repeopled, when the Lord should turn again the captivity of Sion, Ezek. xxxiv. 25, *I will make with them a covenant of peace, and will cause the evil*

* So Doubdan found hares and rabbits both, in great numbers, in the plain of Jericho, which is now a desert, p. 287, 288.

beasts to cease out of the land, and they shall dwell safely in the wilderness and sleep in the woods.

That wild beasts are at present in that country in considerable numbers, and terrify strangers, appears in that passage of Haynes, where, describing his arrival at Cana of Galilee, he says, "The approaching Cana at the close of the day, as we did, is at once terrifying and dangerous.

"The surrounding country swarms with wild beasts, such as tygers, leopards, jackals, &c. whose cries and howling, I doubt not, as it did me, would strike the boldest traveller, who had not been frequently in a like situation, with the deepest sense of horror, p. 118."*

To which may be added the account he gives of his visiting Mount Tabor, on the top of which he found many ruins. "I amused myself," says this traveller, "a considerable time in walking about the area, and creeping into several holes and subterraneous caverns among the ruins. My guide perceiving me thus employed, told me I must be more cautious how I ventured into those places, for that he could assure me those holes and caverns were frequently resorted to by tygers in the day time, to shelter them from the sun: and therefore I might pay dear for gratifying my curiosity." P. 152, 153.

In the two next pages he mentions a terrible fright, into which the monks of Nazareth were put, some time before this, by the appearance of a tyger coming out of these ruins on the top of Mount Tabor, which place the monks annually visit.

I have illustrated the other parts of this passage of Ezekiel, relating to the *sleeping in the woods*, under another Observation.

* He went from Acra to Cana.

OBSERVATION XXXII.

GREAT USEFULNESS OF STORKS IN THE HOLY LAND.

Among the birds that appear and disappear in this country, *storks* are mentioned in our translation, and accordingly Doubdan found them, in the month of May, in great numbers residing in Galilee.

Returning from Cana to Nazareth on the 8th of May, in which journey he complains the heat was so great that they could scarcely breathe, he adds, "I would not forget to observe, that all these fields were so filled with flocks of storks, that they appeared quite white with them, there being above a thousand in each flock, and when they rose and hovered in the air, they seemed like clouds. The evening they rest on trees. There were thousands of them, in the meadow, which lies at the foot of Nazareth, which was quite covered with them. The inhabitants do them no hurt, on account of their devouring all kinds of venomous animals, serpents, adders, toads, and clearing the country of them."*

Shaw saw them in the air, returning from the south, as he lay at anchor near Mount Carmel; Doubdan found them settled in Galilee, and positively affirms that they roosted on trees. Whether they build their nests there too, in that country, he does not say: our version of Ps. civ. 17, has been understood to suppose this, and that therefore it is inaccurate, and that the heron must be meant by the Psalmist, which is according to the vulgar translation,† which Doubdan must be understood to have considered as authentic; but after all, if it be true, that the storks of Palestine roost in trees, as Doubdan affirms, our English translation may be perfectly just, *Where the birds make their nest: as for the stork, the fir trees are her house:* where they rest, where they sleep, after the

* Page 513. † Herodii domus dux est eorum.

wanderings of the day are over, there their house may be said to be.

It would be however both pleasing and useful, if some future traveller would strictly examine this matter, and communicate his observations to the learned world.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

OF THE MIGRATION OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF BIRDS, AND THE USE TO BE MADE OF IT IN AGRICULTURE.

THE migration of birds has not only been attentively observed of late in Europe, but it was remarked anciently too, and in the Holy Land, as is visible from a passage of the Prophet Jeremiah,* but it may be difficult to ascertain, with precision the particular sorts he had in view; this indeed is by no means necessary, with respect to the general moral or religious purposes, for which Jeremiah mentions this phænomenon; but it considerably interests our curiosity, and distinctness here may add not a little to the energy of the expostulation.

The increasing the number of different sorts of birds that keep, with great regularity, the times of their appearing, gives strength to the expostulation: thus Isaiah mentions not only *that the ox knoweth his owner*, but adds too, *that the ass knoweth his master's crib*, Is. i. 3. But if they appear and disappear at different seasons, and yet keep their stated times very exactly, it is giving still greater life to the thought. And as there are such differences in fact, it is not improbable that the Prophet had such differences of time in view.

Many birds migrate, whose coming, or retirement is not attended to by common people; but there are others,

* Jer. viii. 7. "Yea, the stork in heaven knoweth her appointed times, and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow, observe the time of their coming; but my people know not the judgment of the LORD."

whose presence is so remarkable, or the observing the time of their appearing or disappearing thought to be so useful, for the purposes of husbandry, or the conducting other economical matters, that the common people themselves, in a manner universally take notice of them.

Thus the ingenious Mr. Stillingfleet, in his Miscellaneous Tracts, many of them translations of some celebrated Swedish papers, has this remark, that "the peasants of Upland have this proverb: When you see the white wagtail, you may turn your sheep into the fields," which it seems are housed all winter in Sweden, "and when you see the wheatear you may sow your grain." Here we see the usefulness of observing the time of the appearance of the white wagtail in Sweden, for the better management of business in that country, which causes the coming of these birds to be remarked there; but these birds are little, or rather not at all noticed in England, at least in the northwest parts of the county of Suffolk. But every peasant in that county knows that the swallow and the cuckoo are not seen or heard among us in winter, but appear in the spring when the weather grows warm: for the swallow upon its first coming repairs to our houses, and the noise the other makes at a distance from them, is too particular not to engage the attention of every hearer.

There is reason, therefore, to believe, that the birds Jeremiah referred to, were not only migratory, but such as some way or other attracted, in a more particular manner, the notice of the inhabitants of Judea: either from the numerousness of those flocks in which they travelled; the remarkable distinctive quality of their notes; their coming more commonly under their eye; or their being supposed to mark out the proper season for the applying themselves to this and that part of the business of civil life. And by this clue we shall more probably arrive at the meaning of the Prophet, than by philological disquisitions concerning the Hebrew names. The utmost uncertainty, about the precise meaning of those names, ap-

pears in the writings of the various ancient Greek translators of the passage. Sometimes they do not attempt to translate a name, but merely express the original word in Greek letters; and where they do translate, they widely differ about the meaning of the words; and if Jews in Egypt, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and others in those early times, were so indeterminate, little dependence can be admitted with regard to modern Jewish rabbies, and other laborious philologers. It must be much more satisfactory to attend to the facts travellers have given an account of, in modern or elder times.

Dr. Shaw saw the stork, returning in such numbers near to, or over the Holy Land, as could not but attract his notice, when he was on the coasts of that country: "I saw," says this ingenious traveller, "in the middle of April 1722, our ship lying then at anchor under Mount Carmel, three flights of them, some of which were more open and scattered, with larger intervals between them; others were closer and more compact, as in the flights of crows and other birds, each of which took up more than three hours in passing by us; extending itself, at the same time, more than half a mile in breadth. They were then leaving Egypt, where the canals and the ponds, that are annually left by the Nile, were become dry, and directed themselves toward the N. E. . .Those that frequent the marshes of Barbary, appear about three weeks sooner than the flights above mentioned, though they likewise are supposed to come from Egypt; whither also they return a little after the autumnal equinox."* Here their *numbers* attracted notice.

Sir John Chardin has given us a short specimen of the Persian almanacks, in the 2d tome of his Travels in French.† It contains only part of two months. But there, in that column which gives an account of the remarkable events that happen each month, the beginning of the singing of the nightingale is set down as one of those

* Page 409, 410. † Page 132.

remarkables, which is supposed to be about a week after the opening of the Sultanic year, which begins with the entering of the sun into Aries,* consequently, according to this almanack, these birds begin to be heard, in that country, the latter end of march, N. S. Sir John has not set down the rest of the remarkable events that happen each month, by copying the whole of their almanacks, which it is to be wished he had done. He however informs us in another page, after having told us there that the beginning of the singing of the nightingale was a festival of the ancient Arabs, to solemnize the return of warm weather; and that they had another festival to express their joy at the departure of winter, which was marked out in this almanack as happening in the 12th month, and was called the coming of the storks, because that this bird, according to their observations, appeared not till the cold was over. After which he observes, that the Arabians did not count time at first, as has been done since, by the passing of the sun through the signs of the zodiac, which makes our months; or of the moon through them, which makes theirs; but by the seasons. If so, it is no wonder that the appearing or disappearing of certain birds was remarked with care; or the blossoming of certain plants, which we find has been the practice of the wild people of N. America.†

This circumstance of the migration of the storks being mentioned after this manner by Chardin, in concurrence with other considerations, strongly inclines us to believe our translation of the first clause of this passage of Jeremiah may be right, *The stork in the heavens knoweth her appointed times.*

The passage also which I have cited from Dr. Shaw, shows the propriety and the force of that circumstance,

* Page 146.

† Colden's Hist. of the Five Indian Nations of Canada remarks, that they fix the time of such and such transactions, by saying it was when strawberries blossomed, p. 109; or when the chesnuts were ripe, or when the sap began to run between the trees and the bark, ib. &c.

their being described by Jeremiah as flying in the air, in their passage from one country to another, whereas many migratory birds come and go in a more private and concealed manner. *The stork in the heaven*, says the Prophet, which is a description unapplied by him to those other birds which he mentions, and which therefore, probably, does not belong to them. But if that be supposed, our translation should not have introduced the crane, for they are observed passing to and fro in the heaven equally with the stork, and in such numbers as to engage general attention in the Eastern countries.

So Dr. Richard Chandler, in the account he has given the world of his travels in Asia, tells us, that about the 27th of August he saw cranes flying in vast caravans, passing high in the air from Thrace for Egypt, as was supposed.* On the other hand he tells us, in another page of that volume, that in the spring he saw cranes in the Lesser Asia picking up reptiles,† or flying heavy with long sticks to build their nests;‡ this, it seems, was in the end of March. And two pages before he mentions some of them that had built their nests on an old fortress; and in another page,‖ that the return of the crane, and the beginning of the bees to work, are esteemed there a token of the winter's being past.

On the contrary, Stillingfleet, in his Miscellaneous Tracts, has remarked in his preface to one of them, from Aristophanes, that that old Greek comedian tells us, "That the crane points out the time for sowing, when she

* Page 22.

† Mr. Ray supposes that the crane is granivorous, in his Syn. Avium; but perhaps Dr. Chandler did not mean to determine, with precision, that they feed on reptiles, but merely that he saw them picking somewhat from the ground, which he took, upon a slight observation, to have been insects.*

‡ Page 98. ‖ Page 81st.

* Cranes frequent rivers and lakes, and live upon fish. They are fond of eels and are dexterous at picking them out of the mud. I have seen cranes pick up eels, and swallow and pass them through the body several times, before they permitted them to rest in their stomach. I suppose they acted thus, in order the more effectually to kill this long lived animal. EDIT.

flies with her warning notes to Egypt; she bids the sailor hang up his rudder and take his rest; and every prudent man to provide himself with winter garments."*

The first clause then of that verse in Jeremiah equally fits the crane and the stork; and as those birds considerably resemble each other in their form as well as habits of life, being both conversant in watery places, long necked and legged, short bodies and tails, feet not webbed, building their nests on houses and old ruinated places, I should think it by no means improbable, that the Hebrew word חסידה *chasidah* signifies neither the crane nor the stork exclusively, but both species, and their several varieties, and in one word, the whole class of birds that come under the above mentioned description.†

The time of the return of these birds to the south, according to these accounts, marked out the approach of winter, and the time to give over sailing,‡ as their flying northward proclaimed the approach of spring. Agreeably to this, that Prophet mentions the *times*, in the plural, appointed for the *chasidah*, which seems to express both the time of their coming from the south, and the time of returning thither again; whereas the time of the coming of the other birds only is mentioned, which alone was remarkable.

There is no debate about the meaning of the second word, it is allowed on all hands the turtle is meant; and as I have elsewhere shown,‖ that the voice of the turtle and the singing of the nightingale are coincident things, Jeremiah seems to design to mark out the coming of a

* Page 237.

† But whether this be admitted or not, it is certain that cranes are seen in Judea as well as storks, for Hasselquist found them, in the beginning of April, in great numbers there, p. 120.

‡ St. Paul describes the time that sailing became dangerous, by the *fast being past*, Acts xxvii. 9, which being the tenth of the seventh month, called Tizri, fell out about the beginning of October, not far distant from the time that the crane and the stork retire into Egypt.

‖ The outlines of a New Comm. on Sol. Song, p. 149.

bird later in the spring than the chasidah; for, according to the Persian almanack of Sir John Chardin, the nightingale begins to be heard some days later than the appearance of the stork, and marks out the beginning of spring, as the stork does the departing of winter.

How well might it have been, had Sir John Chardin given us that whole column, relating to the memorable events which happened in each month through the year, which he tells us formed, originally at least, a kind of rustic calendar, which guided them with sufficient exactness in the common concerns of life, and their ordinary occupations.* If the modern Persian almanack makers have not continued to set down all the ancient observations relating to things of this sort; the knowledge of the whole of what they have retained would, probably, have been of use, not only to those who study Arabian antiquities, which Sir John speaks of, but to those also that might be desirous to examine with care the sacred writings.

The Septuagint may I think be understood to have introduced only three kinds of birds in their translations of this passage of Jeremiah viii. 7, whereas our's reckons four.† For in the other place,‡ where the two last Hebrew words appear, there being but two places where they occur, they translate them as signifying one bird.

Whatever this was owing to, it could not be because they knew but of three classes of migratory birds.|| There are not only several more in fact, but they must have taken notice of some of them. Mr. Stillingfleet has justly observed, that the coming of the cuckoo is so remarka-

* Page 147.

† Και η ασιδα—τρυων και χελιδων αγρου, στρουθια εφυλαξαν καιρους εισοδων αυτων. The four birds mentioned in the Hebrew text are הסידה ותור וסיס ועגור *Chaseedah, ve' Thor, ve' Sis, ve' Agoor*, which our translators render the stork, the turtle, the crane, and the swallow. The Septuagint reckon *four* kinds as well as the Hebrew. EDIT.

‡ Is. xxxviii. 14. || The chasidah, the turtle, and the nightingale.

ble, and so applicable to the matters of husbandry, that Aristophanes says, "when the cuckoo sung, the Phœnicians reaped wheat and barley."* The cuckoo then, according to this ancient Greek writer, is heard in Phœnicia, adjoining to, or rather a part of the Holy Land; is much taken notice of there, as indeed its note is very particular; and its coming was connected with a very important part of business, harvest.

The coming of the stork, from the south, announces the speedy withdrawing of the winter; the cooing of the turtle, together with the singing of the nightingale, affirms that the spring is come; and the voice of the cuckoo, that it is so far advanced that it is then time to begin harvest. Where the Prophet mentions the stork in the heavens, he may be considered as contrasting them with the other birds, which returned more secretly, flying low near the earth. The taking notice of this circumstance is natural.

In the Swedish calendar, given in the Collections of Mr. Stillingfleet, there are but three days between the coming of the stork and swallow, which both arrived in one day, and the hearing of the cuckoo, and the third day after the cuckoo and the nightingale is said to have sung.† In the Norfolk calendar, formed by Stillingfleet on his own observations in that county, the swallow returned the 6th of April 1755, the nightingale sung the 9th, the cuckoo not heard till the 17th. According to this, as in the remote northern countries, vegetables hurry on, when summer comes thither, with much greater rapidity than with us, as appears by a *Siberian* or Lapland general calendar in the same writer;‡ so it should seem the coming of the various tribes of migratory birds follows each other in greater hurry than with us, and ours, perhaps in quicker succession than in Judea, and it may be not exactly in the same order. But careful observations are wanting here.

* Misc. Tracts, p. 296, note. † Page 266, 267. ‡ Page 317.

I will only add further, that though classical readers, who are acquainted with Ovid, and the supposed metamorphosis of Progne into a swallow, may imagine the noise that bird makes is very melancholy, and therefore suppose the words of Hezekiah may very well be translated, "like a swallow so did I chatter;" yet I believe the unprejudiced mind will be disposed to think, that the note of the cuckoo much more naturally expresses the softly complaining Oh! of the afflicted, when doubled as it often is *Oh! oh!* than the chattering of a swallow. Not to dwell on an observation that may be made, that the word צפצף *tsaph tsaph*, translated chatter, appears to signify the low, melancholy, interrupted voice of the complaining sick, rather than a chattering noise, if we consult the other places in which it is used, which are Isaiah viii. 19; x. 14; xxix. 4.* As for the chattering of the crane, it seems quite inexplicable. Swallows, however, appear in the Holy Land; they were seen at Acre in 1774, in October, and were then about disappearing.

OBSERVATION XXXIV.

OF THE VAST NUMBERS OF TAME TURTLE DOVES FOUND IN EGYPT, &c.

A SACRED writer supposes that the turtle dove is a migratory bird. Maillet does the same, as to many, not all: telling us, that when the cold sets in here in Europe, many kinds of birds come to Egypt, some fixing themselves near the mouths of the Nile, some taking up their abode near Cairo, and there are some that go as far as

* It is used also Ezek. xvii. 5, but there it is translated a *willow tree* in our version. Parkhurst confounds this root צפה *tsaphah*, to *overspread* or *overflow*; but they certainly have no connection. It seems to be of the same import with the Arabic صفّ *saffa*, which signifies *to make equal, arrange, set in order*. EDIT.

Upper Egypt; and among the migratory birds found in Egypt, upon the approach of winter, he mentions quails and turtle doves of passage, which are, he says, very good.*

Two things appear in this account of Maillet: 1st. That many turtle doves do not migrate; and 2d. That they are eaten in Egypt as food, and found to be very good.

The first point is confirmed, I think, by Dr. Chandler, at the same time that he found the singing of the nightingale and the cooing of the turtle dove were coincident things, according to Cant. ii. 12, of which I have elsewhere given some account.†

"We set out," says the Doctor,‡ "from Magnesia, on the 23d at noon.‖ . . . . On each side of us were orchards of fig trees sown with corn; and many nightingales were singing in the bushes." Again, page 202, "At ten,§ our course was northward, on its bank," the river Harpasus, "in a valley. We were surrounded with a delightful trilling of innumerable nightingales." On the same day, they arrived at Guzel Hissar, at entering which town, he tells us, they were surprised to see around them innumerable tame turtle doves, sitting on the branches of the trees, on the walls, and roofs of houses, cooing unceasingly, page 205.

These, according to the Doctor, were tame turtle doves. They were found in a town, not heard as they travelled in the country; and their number was very large: sitting every where; on trees, on walls, and on the roofs.

* A peine le froid commence à se faire sentir en Europe, qu' on ne manque ici ni de canards, ni de sarcelles, ni de becassines et de pluviers, ni meme de cailles et de *tourterelles* passagères, qui sont fort bonnes Desc. de l'Egypte, Let. 9, p. 21.

† Outlines of a New Comment. &c. p. 149.

‡ Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, p. 212.

‖ He means the 23d of April, as appears, p. 199 § April 21.

There is a difficulty which may have presented itself to some minds, and which this account of the tame turtle doves of Guzel Hissar may remove. They migrate on the approach of winter. Now in that season, it appears by a quotation from a Jewish writer, mentioned in a preceding volume, pigeons are not wont to have young ones: how then could that law of Moses be obeyed, which relates to matters that happen at all times of the year,* and which enjoined them to bring for an offering to the LORD two turtle doves, or two young pigeons? But now it may be observed from hence, that if young pigeons could not be procured, as being in the winter, tame turtle doves might supply their place, there being doubtless great numbers of them then in Judea; as there are now at Guzel Hissar. A religious consideration must have engaged the Jews to keep them; which can have no influence on the inhabitants of Asia Minor of our time.

As to the other point, their being eaten, that appears evident from Maillet, who could not otherwise have pronounced concerning their goodness; yet it seems from the answers I received from some I consulted on this point, who had been in the Holy Land, that they are not very commonly used for food there at this time, since they did not remember ever to have eaten of them in that country.

They may be kept, possibly, at this time in such numbers in the Lesser Asia, merely for pleasure; but it is certain that St. Jerom, who lived long in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, speaks of fat turtles as luxurious eating,† numbering them with pheasants, and another bird which has been supposed to be the Asiatic partridge by

* Lev. xii. 8, ch. xiv. 22, &c.

† Procul sint a conviviis tuis phasides aves, *crassi turtures*, attagen Ionicus, et omnes aves, quibus amplissima patrimonia avolant. Nec ideo te carnibus vesci non putes, si Suum, Leporum, atq; Cervorum, et quadrupedum animantium esculentias reprobes. Non enim hæc pedum numero, sed *suavitate gustus* judicantur. Ep. ad Salvinam de Viduitate servanda. Hieron. Op. vol. iv. p. 667.

some; but by others a different kind of bird, but what they could not well determine,* attagen Ionicus being the Latin name.

It may not be amiss to add to the preceding account, relating to the tameness of many turtle doves, what the Baron de Tott says in the Prelim. Disc. to his Mem. p. 17, and in p. 208, of the first part of them. In the first place he remarks, that pigeons are more wild in Turkey than with us, because they are more neglected. In the other, that turtle doves, on the contrary, are extremely familiar there. The government, he tells us, while their subjects are treated with great rigour, is very compassionate to these birds, allowing so much per cent. in favour of them: "A cloud of these birds constantly alight on the vessels which cross the port of Constantinople, and carry this commodity, uncovered, either to the magazines or the mills. The boatmen never oppose their greediness. This permission to feast on the grain brings them in great numbers, and familiarizes them to such a degree, that I have seen them standing on the shoulders of the rowers, watching for a vacant place, where they may fill their crops in their turn."

* "We cannot with certainty," says Francis, in a note on the second Epode, "determine what the rhombus, scarus, or attagen were." If there are various birds not commonly known to us, even in our country, very delicious eating, as those called by the Scotch *caperkyly*, those called black game, and ptarmigans, see Appen. to Pennant's Tour, 1769, can it be any wonder we have not a very determinate knowledge of what the ancient Greeks and Romans meant, by some of the terms they made use of? Norden mentions a bird they shot in Egypt, coromane, "of the size of a woodcock, of a delicious taste; but still more esteemed on account of its fine note. The Turks give for them eight or ten sequins, when they are taken young and have been taught to sing. With regard to their beauty, it consists only in their large eyes; for their feathers do not differ from those of the wild duck." Vol. 2, p. 37. According to Pliny, lib. 9, cap. 48, the attagen when abroad sings, though silent when taken, which much better agrees with the coromanes, than birds of the partridge kind. It is true, Ionia and Egypt are two very different countries, but there are other birds that pass from the one to the other: whether this species does, it is not said.

It could not be difficult to detain in Judea, through the winter, as many as they chose to do, by taking care to feed them.

OBSERVATION XXXV.

OLIVE GROVES, PLACES OF GENERAL RESORT FOR BIRDS.

Dr. Chandler supposes that the olive groves are the principal places for the shooting of birds:* and in his other volume, containing an account of his travels in Greece, he observes, that when the olive blackens, vast flights of doves, pigeons, thrushes, and other birds, repair to the olive groves for food :† the connection then between Noah's dove and an olive leaf, Gen. viii. 11, is not at all unnatural.

The tops of olive trees might alone, possibly, be in view of the place where the ark was then floating, though it is a tree of only a middling height; but if the dove saw a great number of other trees appear above the water, it was natural for it to repair to olive trees, where it had been wont to shelter itself, preferably to others, according to this account. As to branches of olives being used afterward as symbols of peace, that could be nothing to Noah, as, most probably, the associating the idea of reconciliation and peace with an olive branch was the work of aftertimes.

* Trav. in Asia Minor, p. 84.

† Page 127. So Hasselquist heard the nightingale among the willows by the river Jordan, and among the olive trees of Judea, p. 212.

OBSERVATION XXXVI.

THE MEDITERRANEAN WELL STORED WITH FISH OF DIFFERENT KINDS.

EZEKIEL supposes* the Great Sea, by which he means the Mediterranean Sea, was very full of fish: I would observe, that it was not necessary, as to the Jews, to derive this apprehension from the fish brought by the men of Tyre to Jerusalem;† their own people might draw this knowledge, from the fish they found near what were indisputably their own shores.

Doubdan, speaking of his going by sea from Sidon to Joppa, or Jaffa, as he calls it, in his way to Jerusalem, says, that on his entering into that port, they found it so abounding in fish, "that a great fish pursuing one somewhat less, both of them sprung at the same time about three feet out of the water; the first dropped into the middle of the bark, and the other fell so near that they had well nigh taken it with their hands: this happened very luckily, as it afforded our sailors a treat."‡

It would have been well, had he told us of what kind the two fishes were, for want of it I am not able even to begin a list of the species of fish which haunt, or which visit the Jewish shores. This is a desideratum in the natural history of that country. There is a vast variety in that sea, but they have particular places, in which many of the different sorts appear, and which are not to be found in other parts of the Mediterranean.

Though the coast of that part of Syria which denominated Palestine, is not remarkable for the number of its ports, yet besides Joppa, St. John d'Acre, Caipha under Mount Carmel, and a few others that might be named,

* Ch. xlvii. 10. "Their fish shall be according to their kinds, as the fish of the Great Sea, exceeding many."

† Nehem. xiii. 16. ‡ Voy. de la Terre Sainte, p. 40.

there are some creeks, and small convenient places, where little vessels, and such are those that are used for fishing, may shelter themselves, and land what they take, though there are very few rivers on all that coast.* To these places Deborah seems to refer, when she says, *Asher continued on the sea shore, and abode in his breaches,* or creeks, as it is translated in the margin.†

So we are told that Ali Bey, marching from Caipha, to Joppa by land, set out on the 12th of August, and crossing Mount Carmel, came on the 16th near Joppa, and pitched his camp by a brook northeastward of the town, at a little distance from it; but the ships anchored in a creek, about six miles to the northward of Joppa.‡

So Rauwolff informs us, that when his vessel got clear of the frigates that came out from all sides near Caipha to seize upon it, and got about Mount Carmel, two ships pursued them, but were forced to leave them :|| this shows there are several places where small ships may put in and anchor, and where the children of Asher might continue in their ships, pursuing their marine employments; while others of the neighbouring tribes were hazarding their lives in fighting for their country by land.

What Doubdan says of the fish that jumped out of the sea near Joppa, in pursuit of another large fish, by which means one of them was taken, and feasted on by the seamen, and the other narrowly escaped, may put us in mind of the adventure of Tobit, on the bank of the Tigris: a fish leaping out of the water, and darting at him, as an object of prey.§ If one fish threw itself out of the sea in pursuit of another, a voracious fish may possibly have thrown itself out of the water, darting at a naked man

* The History of Ali Bey's Revolt says, that from Cæsarea to Joppa are 15 or 16 miles, and that about a mile and a half before you come to Joppa, you cross a small rivulet, which is the only running water in all that fertile country, p. 185.

† Judges v. 17.

‡ Page 126, 127.

|| Ray's Travels, p. 224, 225.

§ Ch. vi. 2.

that stood on the margin of the river. Fish certainly frequently devour men that they find in the water, not only when they find them dead, but when they happen on them alive. But as the book of Tobit lays the scene of this very unusual event on the shore of the Tigris, it may not be improper to subjoin a quotation from Thevenot.*

It relates to his voyage down the Tigris, the river that is mentioned in Tobit. "This evening, about nine o'clock, one of the men in our keleck,† with a hook took a great fish; it was about five feet long, and though it was as big as a man, yet he told me it was a young one, and that commonly they are much bigger. The head of it was above a foot long; the eyes four inches above the jaws, round, and as big as a brass farthing; the mouth of it was round, and being opened, as wide as the mouth of a cannon, so that my head could easily have gone into it; about the mouth, on the outside, it had four white long beards of flesh, as big as one's little finger: it was all over covered with scales like to those of a carp; it lived long out of the water, died when they opened the belly to skin it, and was a female: the flesh of it was white, tasted much like a tunny, and was as soft and loose as flax."

There are then very large fish in the Tigris. But if any of my readers, after all, should be disposed to consider this adventure of Tobit as apochryphal, he will not, I imagine, be guilty of a mortal sin in so doing.

Our translation, however, it is but justice to remark, has improperly given the English reader to understand, that Tobit and his companion, without the help of any others to assist them, eat up this whole great fish, ver. 5: *And when they had roasted the fish, they did eat it.* The Greek original only says, *And having roasted the fish they eat:* eat what they thought fit of it.

* It is in part 2, book 1, ch. 13, p. 59.

† A particular sort of vessel used on that river.

OBSERVATION XXXVII.

THE LUXURY OF THE HARAMS, VERY OPPRESSIVE TO THE PEOPLE OF THE EAST.

PEOPLE of power in the East are wont to be mostly very oppressive, and the expensiveness of their harams, or, in other words, of their wives, appears to be one of the causes of their great oppressions; which seems to be exactly what the Prophet Amos had in view, in the beginning of his fourth chapter, where he compares the ladies of Israel to fatted kine.

As commentators of former times seem, to me, to have most unhappily jumbled and confounded things together, in their explanation of this prophetic passage, at least those that I have consulted, it may not be improper to collect together some observations upon it.

It is not at all uncommon for the Prophets, to compare the great men of their own nation to males of this kind of animal, Ps. xxii. 12, Deut. xxxiii. 17, as well as those of other nations, Ps. lxviii. 30, Is. xxxiv. 7. Here Amos uses a word that denotes the females of that species, which, in course, should signify the women of distinction in Israel.

Their masters that were required to bring fattening food and drink, points out, under the image of what was done to kine that were fatting, those supplies, with respect to food, which the luxurious ladies of that country would, it was to be expected, require of their lords. Nor is it to be imagined, that they would not equally demand splendid clothing, and expensive ornaments.

That, in consequence, occasioned the oppressing the poor and crushing the needy. So le Bruyn describes the women of the Levant, "as having such a passion for dress, that they never think themselves richly enough attired, without any attention to their rank, or any consideration whether their

circumstances will admit of it."* Chardin's account of the Persian ladies is just the same. "The great luxury of the Persians is in their seraglios, the expense of which is immense, owing to the number of women they keep there, and the profusion their love to them causes. Rich new habits are continually procured for them, perfumes are consumed there in abundance, and the women, being brought up and supported in the most refined voluptuousness, use every artifice to procure for themselves whatever pleases them, without concerning themselves about what they cost."† Such expensiveness occasions great oppression now, and, it seems, did so among the Israelites in the days of Amos.

Out of these fatting stalls they were to be driven by the hand of an enemy, for breaches are supposed to be made in the buildings in which they were kept, through which they were to be driven, every one out of her stall through such a breach, prophetically marking out, by a continuation of the same image, the making breaches in the cities of their habitation, and forcing them out of those places of their luxury.

The 2d verse need not be so understood as to vary the image, and from comparing them to fatted kine in one verse, in the next to represent them as fishes taken away by hooks. The word צנות *tsinnoth*, in the original, signifies *thorns*, consequently any straight sharp pointed thing, as well as one bent, or a hook. And when it is remembered that animals of this kind, as well as asses, are driven along by a sharp pointed stick, or some such kind of instrument, this 2d verse is decyphered, and brought to be of an homogenious nature with the preceding and following verse.

That this is the custom in those countries, we learn from Maundrell. "Franks are obliged either to walk on foot, or else to ride upon asses. . . . When you are mounted, the master of the ass follows his beast to the place whither

* Tome 1, p. 450. This follows the account of the extreme avidity of the men, so as to stick at nothing to procure money.

† Tome 2, p. 55.

you are disposed to go; goading him up behind with a sharp pointed stick, which makes him despatch his stage with great expedition."* Oxen are driven there, according to him, after the same manner. "The country people were now every where at plough in the fields, in order to sow cotton. It was observable, that in ploughing, they used goads of an extraordinary size. Upon measuring of several, I found them about eight foot long, and at the bigger end six inches in circumference. They were armed at the lesser end with a sharp prickle for driving the oxen, and at the other end with a small spade, or paddle of iron, strong and massy, for cleansing the plough from the clay that encumbers it in working."† If oxen then, and females of that species, are wont to be driven along by goads, it cannot be wondered at that the Prophet should represent the carrying away into captivity of the Israelitish ladies, considered under the image of kine, by the driving them along by goads: *He shall take you away with sharp pointed instruments*, for that seems to be the precise meaning of the word; not hooks, nor even thorns, in an exclusive sense, but in general, things that are sharp pointed.‡

I can assign no reason why thorns, or sharp pointed things, such as were used for taking fish, are mentioned in the last clause, unless it should be understood to mean the great severity with which the women of Israel should be driven away, in the last captivity of those of the ten tribes under Hoshea. Instruments not very unlike the Eastern goads have been used, I think, for catching fish, and were meant by our translators when they used the term fish spears, Job xli. 7; but then they must have been much sharper than goads, in order to secure the fish.||

* Page 130, edit. 5. † Page 110, 111.

‡ Even shields, which anciently oftentimes had a sharp spike fixed in the middle of the outside surface. 1 Kings x. 16.

|| So Camden, in his account of our native island, tells us, that those that live by the sides of Solway Frith, hunt salmons, whereof there is great plenty there, with spears on horseback. Under his account of Nidisdale.

But a goad sharpened to a point like a fish spear, must have been a dreadful instrument to drive cattle with, wounding them so as to occasion great anguish in their travelling along, and therefore not an improper representation, of the great severity used in driving the latter captives under Hoshea into Assyria.

My reader will observe here, that I suppose the word אחרית *achareeth*, translated *posterity* in the 2d verse, means rather the *remainder*, those that came after them that were first carried away of the ten tribes: so the word is twice used, Ezek. xxiii. 25, once translated *remnant*, and the other time *residue*. And, agreeably to this, we find the people of the kingdom of the ten tribes were carried away at twice, the more northern and eastern parts by Tiglath Pileser,* the rest several years after, by Shalmaneser,† and it is natural to suppose the treatment these last met with, was more severe than what the first felt.

The last clause probably was designed to express whether they were to be driven, as some of the old translations understood it to mean, but it is not the design of these papers to examine matters of that kind. It is sufficient to observe, that the two words of the 2d verse, צינת *tsinneeth* סירות דונה *seeroth dugah*, the one rendered *hooks* in our version, the other *fish hooks*, mean sharp pointed instruments used for the driving away of cattle; but the last supposed to be more pointed than the first, and sharpened to such a degree, as even to be fit for the striking of fish. *Ye shall be driven away, ye fatted kine of Israel, as with goads; and the last parcel of you with instruments sharp as fish spears.*

* 2 Kings xv. 20. † Ch. xvii. 3, 6.

OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

PUBLIC JUSTICE BADLY ADMINISTERED IN THE EAST.

Among several of the smaller tribes of the Eastern people, who are a good deal independent, persons take upon them to do themselves justice, if they think they are injured, without much notice of it being taken by their superiors. A state of things so nearly resembling anarchy as appears very surprising to Europeans. It seems to have been the same anciently.

Niebuhr says, that if two Shekhs of the Druses* quarrel, "they send their peasants into the village of their enemy, cause the inhabitants to be massacred, cut down the mulberry and olive trees, and the Emir† oftentimes does not punish these excesses."‡ In other cases he mentions the burning of houses.

I should suppose we are to understand the Philistine burning the spouse of Samson and her father, not as the consequence of the regular decision of the nation; but the tumultuary exercise of justice like that of the modern Druses. Samson a principal Israelite, burnt, they were informed, some of their corn fields, their vineyards and olive yards, in consequence of an injury he had received; and those that had suffered that loss revenged it, by setting fire to the house of him that provoked them to this vengeance, in which he and his daughter miserably perished. Judges xv. 6.

* The chiefs of their villages: each village having its Shekh. The Druses being one of the sorts of people that inhabit Libanus.

† The head of that nation.

‡ Voy. en Arabie & en d'autres Pays, tome 2, p. 556

OBSERVATION XXXIX.

PEASANTS, IN PERSIA, PERMITTED TO APPROACH THE THRONE, WITH COMPLAINTS OF OPPRESSION AGAINST THEIR RULERS.

A GREAT likeness appears, between the managements of the Jews, when the chief captain of the Roman garrison of Jerusalem presented himself in the temple,* and the behaviour of the Persian peasants, when they go to court to complain of the governors under whom they live, upon their oppressions becoming intolerable, which resemblance may place that passage of the Acts of the Apostles in the particular point of light, in which in truth it ought to be reviewed.

Sir John Chardin has given us an account of the behaviour of the Persian peasants on such occasions, in the 2d tome of his printed Travels,† where he tells us, "the people carry their complaints against their governors by companies, consisting of several hundreds, and sometimes a thousand; they repair to that gate of the palace near to which their prince is most likely to be, where they set themselves to make the most horrid cries, tearing their garments, and throwing dust into the air, at the same time demanding justice. . . . . The king, upon hearing these cries, sends to know the occasion of them. The people deliver their complaint in writing, upon which he lets them know, that he will commit the cognisance of the affair to such, or such an one. In consequence of which it seems justice is wont to be done them."

Thus when the Jews found St. Paul in the Temple, prejudiced as they were against him in general, and then irritated by a mistaken notion, that he had polluted the holy place by the introduction of Greeks into it, they rais-

* Acts xxii. 23.

† Page 222.

ed a tumult, and appeared to be on the point of tearing the apostle in pieces; but no account of throwing dust into the air, or any mention of their garments, or long continued cries; there was only an exclamation of the Asiatic Jews stirring up the people of Jerusalem against the apostle, a running of the people together upon that, a dragging him out of that court in which the Jews worshipped, into the court of the Gentiles, and then falling upon him, and beating him with such violence as would have ended in the loss of his life; when the chief captain of the Roman soldiers, who resided in a castle adjoining to the Temple, hearing the tumult, immediately hastened thither, upon which they left beating the apostle, and applied themselves to him as the principal person in the government then there, with confused cries that he knew not what to make of; but upon his giving leave to Paul to explain the affair in their hearing, they grew into more violent rage than ever, but not daring to attempt doing themselves justice as before, they demanded justice much in the same manner as the Persian peasants now do, by loud cries; throwing down with apparent anguish their clothes on the ground, after tearing them in pulling them off with violent emotions, and throwing up dust.

I have, in another volume, touched upon this circumstance of the history of St. Luke, and recited the sentiments of two different gentlemen on this throwing up the dust; but as both of them may appear rather too refined and far fetched, I thought it proper to set down Sir John Chardin's account of the way of applying for justice in Persia, which very exactly tallies with the account here given of the Jews, and leads us to consider their conduct, merely as a demand of justice from the Roman commandant in Jerusalem, according to the usual Asiatic form, which continues to this day.

OBSERVATION XL.

OF THE BASTINADO IN THE EAST.

THE feet as well as the hands of criminals are wont to be secured, some how or other, by the people of the East, when they are brought out to be punished, to which there seems to be a plain allusion in the Old Testament.

Thus when Irwin was among the Arabs of Upper Egypt, where he was very ill used, but his wrongs afterward redressed by the great Sheikh there, who had been absent, and who, it seems, was a man of exemplary probity and virtue; he tells us, that upon that Sheikh's holding a great court of justice, about Irwin's affairs and those of his companions, the bastinado was given to one of those who had injured them, which he thus describes in a note, p. 271: "The prisoner is placed upright on the ground, with his hands and feet bound together, while the executioner stands before him, and, with a short stick, strikes him with a smart motion on the outside of his knees. The pain which arises from these strokes is exquisitely severe, and which no constitution can support for any continuance."

As the Arabs are extremely remarkable for their retaining old customs, we have just grounds of believing, that when malefactors in the East were punished, by beating, and perhaps with death by the sword, their hands were bound together, and also their feet.

How impertinent, according to this, is the interpretation that Victorinus Strigelius gives of 2 Sam. iii. 34! as he is cited by Bishop Patrick in his Commentary on those words: *The king lamented over Abner, and said, Died Abner as a fool dieth? Thy hands were not bound, nor thy feet put into fetters; as a man falleth before wicked men, so fellest thou. And all the people wept again over him.*

"Strigelius," says the Bishop, "thinks that David in these words, distinguishes him from those criminals, whose hands being tied behind them, are carried to execution; and from those idle soldiers, who being taken captive in war, have fetters clapt upon their legs, to keep them from running away. He was none of these; neither a notorious offender, nor a coward" Patrick adds, "The plain meaning seems to be; that if his enemy had set upon him openly, he had been able to make his part good with him."

How impertinent the latter part of what Strigelius says! how foreign from the thought of David, not to say inconsistent with itself, the explanation of the English prelate! What is meant appears to be simply this: Died Abner as a fool, that is, as a bad man, as that word frequently signifies in the Scriptures? Died he as one found on judgment to be criminal, dieth? No! Thy hands, O Abner! were not bound as being found such, nor thy feet confined; on the contrary, thou wert treated with honor by him whose business it was to judge thee, and thy attachment to the house of Saul esteemed rather generous than culpable: as the best of men may fall, so fellest thou by the sword of treachery, not of justice!

OBSERVATION XLI.

PROMPT AND ARBITRARY EXECUTIONS FREQUENT IN THE EAST.

Britons, who are used to slowness and solemnity of procedure, with regard to supposed criminals; who always expect that a number of independent persons should be concerned in determining their fate, and those their equals in rank,* who find a considerable length of time is wont to intervene between condemnation and execution; and

* A jury of their peers.

this execution openly performed, in the presence of all who choose to attend; are wont to be surprised, as well as pained, on reading accounts of the Oriental privacy, rapidity, and silent submission of their great men, when they are put to death, which appear both in the Turkish and Persian histories.

What Thevenot* says, concerning the manner of putting great men among the Turks to death, is confirmed by a great multitude of other writers. When, it seems, the enemies of a great man have gained influence enough over the prince, to procure a warrant for his death, a capidgi, the name of the officer who executes these orders, is sent to him, who "shows him the order he has to carry back his head; the other takes the Grand Signior's order, kisses it, puts it on his head in sign of respect, and then having performed his ablution, and said his prayers, freely gives up his head: the capidgi having strangled him, or caused servants whom he brought purposely with him to do it, cuts off his head, and brings it to Constantinople. Thus they blindly obey the Grand Signior's order, the servants never offer to hinder the executioner, though these capidges come very often with few or no attendants at all."

Sir John Chardin gives a similar account of the silent, hasty, and unobstructed manner of putting the great men of Persia to death. Much the same method, it seems, was used by the ancient Jewish princes. Benaiah was the capidgi, to use the modern Turkish term, who was sent by Solomon to put Adonijah, a prince of the blood, to death;† and Joab, the commander of the army in chief.‡ A capidgi, in like manner, beheaded John the Baptist in prison, and carried his head away with him to the court of Herod the Tetrarch.‖ So a capidgi was sent to take off the head of the Prophet Elisha, by king Jehoram; but the execution was prevented, by the king's

* 1 Part 1, ch. 46. † 1 Kings ii. 25. ‡ Ver. 29, 30, 34.
‖ Matt. xiv. 10, 11.

immediately following, and receiving a prophetic assurance, that the famine which then most terribly distressed the city, should terminate in four and twenty hours.*

Great energy will be given to the term messengers of death, mentioned by Solomon, Prov. xvi. 14, if we understand those words of the capidges of the ancient Jewish princes: *The wrath of a king is as messengers of death, but a wise man will pacify it.* His wrath puts a man in danger of immediate death, and may chill the blood like the appearance of a capidgi; but by wisdom a man may sometimes escape the danger.

The behaviour of Elisha may be supposed to be a proof, that the ancient Jews were not so submissive to the orders brought by the messengers of death, of that country, as the Turks and Persians of later times. Jehoram's sending however, only a single person, to take off the head of the Prophet, seems to show that they were, or nearly so. It is to be remembered, that the capidges of later ages, have been persuaded sometimes to delay an execution, or attempts at least have been made use of to persuade them to do it, in hope of a counter order; and at other times the condemned person may have delayed a while the making his appearance, imagining there might be a relenting in the prince. Chardin has given us an example of the first, in the case of a black servant, who went along with his master to take off the head of a Persian general, and who joined with the supposed criminal in begging for a little delay, but who could not prevail; when scarcely was the messenger of death remounted on his horse, when a counter order was brought, and the general's death very much regretted by the prince who commanded it.†

Elisha, it should seem, begged the elders of Israel that were with him, to detain the messenger of death a few minutes at the door, until the king should arrive, who was closely following him, probably as repenting of what he

* 2 Kings vi. 32, 33. † Voy. tome 3, p. 148.

had commanded. He could not, however, forbear exclaiming, when he saw the Prophet, who, I should apprehend, had given him hopes of deliverance out of the hands of the king of Syria, who had been promising him favour if he yielded, and at the same time threatening him if he persisted in holding out the city against him, exclaiming, I say, This calamity is of GOD! it cannot be avoided! why should I wait in a vain expectation of escaping from him, by depending, O Elisha, on thy flattering assurances of not falling into his hands, through which assurances my people are expiring with hunger, and even mothers constrained to eat their own children? Then the Prophet persuaded him to wait twentyfour hours longer, declaring, with great positiveness and precision, upon pain of being put immediately to death, that within that time, plenty should be restored to Samaria. After some such a manner as this, I should think, this passage is to be understood.

OBSERVATION XLII.

OF THE EXTERMINATION OF ANCIENT ROYAL FAMILIES IN THE EAST.

NONE of the commentators whom I have seen, seem to me to have given the true explanation of that expression of sacred history, relating to the extermination of ancient royal families in the East, which describes every male as cut off, "There was no one remaining, either shut up or left in Israel:" the expression being to be understood, I apprehend, as signifying, that no one should remain, in a situation from whence it might be expected he would assert and endeavour to make good, his claim to the crown; nor any one left of those from whom nothing was apprehended, either on account of mental or bodily imperfection, or the unsuspicious temper of the conqueror.

The expression is made use of in relation to the families of Jeroboam,* and Ahab,† kings of Israel; and occurs also in some other places of holy writ,‡ which may be illustrated by explaining the phrase, as used in relation to those two ancient royal families of the Jewish nation.

The explanations of commentators are very various, but none of them satisfactory. That which I have to propose, and would submit to the reader, is founded on Eastern historical events.

Some times, when a successful prince has endeavoured to extirpate the preceding royal family, some of them have escaped the slaughter, and have secured themselves in some impregnable fortress, or place of great secresy; while others have sought an asylum in some foreign country, from whence they have occasioned, from time to time, great anxiety and great difficulties to the usurper of their crown.

The word *shut up*, strictly speaking, refers to the two first of these cases. When Athaliah endeavoured to destroy all the seed royal of Judah,‖ that she might herself reign, one child alone was preserved, Joash by name, who was kept with great secresy for some years, shut up in a private apartment of the Temple, from whence he was brought forth in due time, and actually recovered the crown.

Other princes have shut up themselves in impregnable fortresses, and from thence have given great alarm to their rivals, and, it may be, at length re-established themselves in the government of their hereditary countries, or of part of them.

Those of royal blood in either of these situations come, strictly speaking, under this description, of persons shut

* 1 Kings xiv. 10. *Therefore, behold, I will bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam, and will cut off from Jeroboam, him that pisseth against the wall, and him that is shut up and left in Israel, and will take away the remnant of the house of Jeroboam, as a man taketh away dung, until it be all gone.*

† 1 Kings xxi. 21; 2 Kings ix. 8.

‡ Deut. xxxii. 36; 2 Kings xiv. 26.

‖ 2 Kings xi. 1.

up. But the term may be used in a more extensive sense, for those princes who, by retiring into deserts, or into foreign countries, preserve themselves from being slain by those who have usurped the dominions of their ancestors. Thus the term is applied to David, when he lived in Ziklag, in the time of King Saul, 1 Chron. xii. 1: *Now these are they that came to David to Ziklag, while he yet kept himself close*, or more exactly according to the Hebrew, as the margin observes, *being yet shut up, because of Saul the son of Kish; and they were among the mighty men, helpers of the war.* David did not shut himself up, strictly speaking, in Ziklag. It is described as a town in the country, in contradistinction from the royal city of the Philistines, 1 Sam. xxvii. 5, perhaps then an unwalled town: but however that was, it is certain he did not confine himself in Ziklag; he was on the contrary, continually making excursions from thence, as we are informed, verse 8, &c. But being there in a state of safety, from whence he might in some favourable moment seize the kingdom, the term *shut up* is applied to him in a less exact sense.

In this sense in like manner, Hadad of the king's seed in Edom, might be described as one shut up, in the time of King David, and his son Solomon: for, retiring into Egypt, he continued there waiting for some opportunity of repossessing himself of that country. *And the* LORD *stirred up an adversary unto Solomon, Hadad the Edomite; he was of the king's seed in Edom. For it came to pass when David was in Edom, and Joab the captain of the host was gone up to bury the slain, after he had smitten every male in Edom . . . . That Hadad fled, he and certain Edomites of his father's servants with him, to go into Egypt; Hadad being yet a little child. And they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran; and they took men with them out of Paran, and they came to Egypt unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, which gave him a house, and appointed him victuals, and gave him land.* 1 Kings xi. 14, 15, 17, 18.

But as to the families of Jeroboam and Ahab, God threatened, not only that they should be despoiled of the kingdom, but that the destruction should be without any hope of recovery: none being preserved, either in some secret place of concealment among their friends; or by flying to some strong city, from whence they might excite great alarm, if not much trouble: or by escaping into some foreign country, from whence their antagonist might dread their return; none by whose means it might be supposed those families might recover themselves, and regain the possession of the throne of the ten tribes.

And not only so, but that no branch of those families whatsoever should remain, none left of those from whom no danger was apprehended. In later times in the East, sometimes persons of royal descent have been left alive, when the rest of a family have been cut off; because it was thought there were no grounds of suspicion of any danger resulting from them, either on account of defects in their understandings ;* blindness, or some other great bodily disqualification ;† or exquisite dissembling:‡ but none of

* Supposed intellectual weakness probably saved the life of David, when among the Philistines of Gath, 1 Sam. xxi. 12—15.

† Blindness saved the life of Mohammed Khodabendeh, a Persian prince of the sixteenth century, when his brother Ismael put all the rest of his brethren to death, being spared on the account that he had lost his eyesight. D'Herbelot, p. 613.

‡ And one of the ancestors of this blind prince, of the same name of Ismael, escaped by his having so much art, as to make a prince who had him and another son of that ambitious family, which was almost extirpated on the account of its high pretences and great restlessness, believe that he intended to retire from the world, and devote himself to religious retirement. D'Herbelot p. 504. "Ismael, and Ali Mirza his brother, having been made prisoners by Jacoub Begh, the son of Usuncassan," says this writer, from the Oriental Histories, "who had killed their father Haidar in battle, were some time after set at liberty by Rostam Begh, who had succeeded Jacoub his uncle. It was not long before Rostam Begh repented of his having unchained these two young lions, who immediately set out for Ardebil their native country, and the burial place of their ancestors, under the pretence of spending the rest of their days, in the habit of dervishes, in lamenting the death of their father, but in fact to give new vigour to the Haidarian faction, which was very powerful there, when Rostam sent

the families of Jeroboam or Ahab were to be permitted to live on these accounts; none should escape, none should in pity, and from unsuspiciousness, be left alive. The destruction was to be universal. Such, I should think, is what is to be understood by the terms shut up and left.

This prophetic declaration is the more remarkable, as the entire extinction of a numerous royal family, such as those of the East are wont to be, is not easily accomplished. Great havoc was made from time to time, among the descendants of Ali, the son in law of their prophet Mohammed, whose family claimed the khalifate, or supreme power among the Mohammedans, by a supposed divine right; but it could never be effected, and its descendants are very numerous at this very day, and reign in several of those countries.

The Ommiades, or family which, in the opinion of many, usurped what of right belonged to the family of Ali, which family of Ommiah was the first that possessed the khalifate in an hereditary way, were dispossessed of this high dignity by another family, called Abassides, or the children of Abbas, but could not be extirpated, though the Abassides took great pains to do it, and were guilty of great barbarity in the attempt, without being able to accomplish it.

For we are told, that an uncle of the first of the khaliffs of this new family, after the defeat of the before reigning prince, assembled about fourscore of the house of Ommiah, to whom he had given quarter, and caused them to be all knocked on the head, by people intermixed among them with wooden clubs; after which, covering their bodies with a carpet, he gave a great entertainment upon that carpet to the officers of his army, in such a manner as to spend that time of joy amidst the last groans

people after them, who killed Ali, but never could come up with Ismael, who took refuge in Ghilan, where one of the friends of the late Sheik Haidar, his father, governed.

of these miserable wretches, who were still breathing.* But though the Abassides destroyed all those of the house of Ommiah, on whom they could lay their hands, as we are informed in a preceding part of the same, and in the following page, and endeavoured to extirpate it, some escaped, and appeared with great lustre elsewhere, reigning both in Spain and Arabia.

It was otherwise with the houses of Jeroboam, Baasha, and Ahab.

If this explanation be admitted, it will enable us more clearly to understand two or three other passages of Scripture. For when it is said, 2 Kings xiv. 26, that *the* LORD *saw the affliction of Israel, that it was very bitter: for there was not any shut up, nor any left, nor any helper for Israel*, the words seem to mean, that before the time of the prince there spoken of, Jeroboam the second, there was no one of their more eminent people, from whom they might have great expectations; nor any of those in a more obscure station, from which class of people great deliverers have sometimes been raised up to save their native country; nor any helper for Israel among foreign princes, or generals; but they seemed quite lost, and devoted to ruin by the hand of the Syrian princes.

In like manner, when Moses says in his last song, *The* LORD *shall judge his people, and repent himself for his servants, when he seeth that their power is gone, and there is none shut up, or left;* None able to make head against their enemies, by means of strong holds, or left among the people at large, from whom any support could be expected; the LORD will then, says Moses, repent concerning his servants, that is, change the tenor of his conduct toward them.

* D'Herbelot, p. 692.

OBSERVATION XLIII.

OF THE POWER AND INFLUENCE OF ANCIENT PALMYRA AND BALBEC.

To those that feel something of an incredulous anxiety, about the accounts which the sacred writers have given us, of the extent of the kingdom and of the fame of Israel in the days of David and Solomon;* whereas we find few or no traces of this mighty power in profane history, and we know that the Arabs have been always looked upon as untameable people, I would recommend the account which the curious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra has given of that state.

Let them consider that it was a small territory in the midst of a desert, and yet extended its conquests over many rich countries and considerable states; that the great kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Ptolemies became part of the dominions of a single city, whose name we in vain look for in history;† and this, though it flourished in modern times, in comparison of the age of David, none of the dates found there being earlier than CHRIST, and in times concerning which we have large accounts.

That Palmyra and Balbec, which are perhaps the two most surprising remains of ancient magnificence now left, should be so neglected in history, as in a great measure to be left to tell their own story, appears to this ingenious writer a very remarkable fact, carrying instruction with it.‡ Instruction of more sorts than one, let it be permitted me to say! for besides those moral lessons which the editor of these ruins refers to, it removes at once all difficulties derived from the silence of profane history concerning the kings and affairs of Jerusalem, a city which stood in the neighbourhood of Palmyra and Balbec,

* 1 Kings xvi. 3. † Ruins of Palmyra, p. 11. ‡ Page 1

which are passed over in as great or greater silence: to which is to be added the consideration, that Jerusalem, was much more ancient than they.

OBSERVATION XLIV.

CERTAIN PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO PALMYRA.

PALMYRA, though situated between the two great empires of Rome and Parthia, was an independent state in the days of Pliny; and by its advantageous situation, in the midst of a great desert, not only preserved its independence, but it was, according to Mr. Wood,* the first care of those two mighty empires, when at war, to engage it in their interest.

As it did not however always preserve its independence, being conquered by Aurelian, and subjected to the Romans, the ruins of some of their works still continuing there, so it might not be always a separate state in the ages that preceded that of Pliny. It however must, notwithstanding, have been an object of great attention at all times: and even before any city was built there, on account of its waters,† which indeed are supposed to have been the occasion of erecting it. So William the Archbishop of Tyre‡ mentions it as a great defect in the Christians, that they did not seize upon a place called Gerba, where there was abundance of water, and which lay in the way of Saladine, in his march out of Egypt to Damascus; which had they done, he supposes Saladine must have returned into Egypt, and have lost his whole army by thirst. Their taking possession afterward of the waters called *Rasel Rasit*, which they proposed to do, but did not, he supposed too would have obliged him to go on further about in the wilderness, and would have been attended with great loss to him.

* Ruins of Palmyra, p. 5. † Page 18. ‡ Gesta Dei, &c. p. 1027.

Was then Palmyra the place that Pharaoh Necho wanted to secure,* or Hadadezer king of Zobah?† One might be tempted to fancy so from its importance, and its nearness to the Euphrates. It could hardly however be an object of Necho's attention, because the place he went against is expressly called by the Jewish historian *Carchemish*, whereas Palmyra was known to the Jews by the name of Tadmor in the wilderness, and is so called by this very historian, 2 Chron. viii. 4. Agreeably to this, long after the days of Necho, Saladine, who reigned over the same country of Egypt, is spoken of as having more towns than one on the Euphrates.‡ This however shows how fond the Egyptian princes have always been of having some towns in the neighbourhood of that river.

It is much more probable, that this might be the border that Hadadezer sought to recover out of the hands of David; since it is in a manner universally allowed, that Solomon his son built a city here, which place, as he was a pacific prince, it is most natural to think had been previously secured by David; and it is reasonable to believe that he seized upon this important place, which though of such consequence to his caravans, had been neglected by Hadadezer, in order to become master of that advantageous commerce carried on through it from the Euphrates, which the ingenious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra,|| if I understand him right, supposes was as ancient as these times. Such a supposition explains, I think, in the easiest manner, the contest between the king of Zobah and David about this place, which until then had lain unoccupied, and had been only used for a watering place.

But whether we are to understand it of the springs of Palmyra, or of any other place nearer the Euphrates, in the time of David at furthest, Providence fulfilled the prediction to Abraham, that to his seed should be given the land from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates.

* 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. † 2 Sam viii. 3.

‡ Gesta dei per Francos, p. 1029. || Page 18.

OBSERVATION XLV

SOME CURIOUS REMARKS ON THE EUPHRATES.

Dr. Pococke has made a remark upon this river, the Euphrates, which may possibly serve to explain a difficulty relating to another of which we read much more frequently in the Scriptures, I mean the Jordan.

The bed of the Euphrates, this writer tells us, was measured by some English gentlemen at Beer, and found to be six hundred and thirty yards broad,* but the river only two hundred and fourteen yards over; that they thought it to be nine or ten feet deep in the middle; and were informed, that it sometimes rises twelve feet perpendicularly. He observed that it had an inner and outer bank; but says, it rarely overflows the inner bank; that when it does, they sow water melons, and other fruits of that kind, as soon as the water retires, and have a great produce.†

Might not the overflowings of Jordan be like those of the Euphrates, not annual, but much more rare? Maundrell observed an inner and outer bank belonging to Jordan, but says, that river was so far from overflowing when he was there, that it ran at least two yards below the brink of its channel. The circumstance of his having been there the thirtieth of March, the proper time for its inundation, 1 Chron. xii. 15, appears a little to have dis-

* This, I suppose, was the breadth from one of the inner banks to the other; for Mr. Drummond tells us, that the Euphrates at Beer has "two sets of banks, one for summer, and the other for winter, these last being full half a mile wider than the other." p. 205. If the width of one of the outer banks from the other is half a mile, or eight hundred and eighty yards more than the common bed of the Euphrates, it must be the distance from one of the inner banks to the other that these gentlemen measured, which they found to be six hundred and thirty yards only.

† Vol. 2, p. 164.

concerted him; however, he supposes it might anciently* have overflowed the level strand up to the first bank, though at present it seems to have forgot its ancient greatness, either by having worn its channel deeper than it was formerly, or because its waters are diverted some other way. But possibly the whole of it lies in this, that it does not, like the Nile, overflow annually, as authors by mistake had supposed, but, like the Euphrates, only in some particular years; but when it does, that it is in the time of harvest. It is rather unfortunate that no virtuoso has ascertained the fact: may the writer of these papers venture to recommend the examination of it to the curious?

If it did not in ancient times annually overflow its banks, the majesty of GOD's dividing its waters, in the days of Joshua, was certainly the more striking to the Canaanites, who, when they looked upon themselves as extraordinarily defended by the overflowing of the river, which happened not every year, its breadth and rapidity being both so extremely increased, yet found the river in these circumstances open itself, and make a way on the dry land for the people of JEHOVAH.

OBSERVATION XLVI.

OF THE WOODS AND THICKETS IN JUDEA.

THOUGH *wood* is very scarce in Palestine, in some well watered places they have considerable thickets of trees, and of reeds.

* It appears from a passage of Josephus, de Bell. Jud. lib. 2, cap. 7, that the Jordan was sometimes swelled in the spring, so as to be impassable in places where people were wont to go over, in his time; for speaking of a transaction on the fourth of the month Dystrus, which answers our March, or, as some reckon, February, he gives an account of great numbers of people who perished in this river, into which they were driven by their enemies, which, by the circumstances, appears to have happened in a few days after what was done on the fourth of Dystrus.

So Dr. Pococke represents Jordan as almost hid by shady trees, between the lake Samochonites, and the sea of Tiberias; which trees, he says, are chiefly of the platanus kind, and grow on each side of it.* To which he adds, that the lake itself, when the waters are fallen, is only a marsh.† And, in another place,‡ he describes the sea of Tiberias as having reeds growing by it in great numbers. Sandys had long before given a similar account of these places: observing that Jordan was shaded with poplars, alders, tamarisks, and reeds of sundry kinds; and that the lake Samochonites, then called Houle, was in the summer for the most part dry, and overgrown with shrubs and reeds.||

In these places live many wild boars, according to both authors. Dr. Pococke in particular observed very large herds of them on the other side Jordan, where it flows out of the sea of Tiberias; and several of them on the same side, on which he was, lying among the reeds by the sea.§ The wild boars of other countries delight in the like moist habitations.¶

These shady marshes are called in the Scripture *woods*, for it calls these animals the wild boars of the wood, Ps. lxxx. 13.

Might not the wood of Ephraim, in which the battle was fought between the army of Absalom and the servants of David, be a wood of the same kind? If it was, a difficulty that seems to have perplexed commentators may be removed: for it is certain that a boggy place may be very fatal to an army, partly by suffocating those that in the hurry of flight inadvertently venture over places incapable of supporting them; and partly by retarding them, so as to give their pursuers an opportunity of coming up with

* Vol. 2, p. 72. † Page 73. ‡ Page 70. || Page 110.

§ Vol. 2, p. 70.

¶ See Keysler concerning the wild boars of Germany, vol. 1, p. 134, and Le Bruyn concerning those of Persia, vol. 4, p. 451.

them, and cutting them off. A greater number of people than of those that fall in the height of battle may thus be destroyed.

So the Archbishop of Tyre tells us, that some of the troops of one of the Christian kings of Jerusalem, were lost in the marshy places of a valley of this country, out of which that prince was driving a great number of cattle, owing to their not being acquainted with the passages through them; and this, though he was successful in his expedition, and had no enemy to molest him in his return.* They were indeed, according to the Archbishop, but few; but in what numbers would they have perished, must we think, had they been forced to fly, like the men of Absalom, before a victorious army. So Josephus ascribes the death of Demetrius, one of the kings of Syria, to his horse's plunging into a muddy place, which could not easily be passed through, where being entangled, he was slain by those very enemies he had been pursuing, who seeing the accident, turned back, and killed him with their darts.† On such accounts as these, the ancient warriors thought such retreats as marshes proper places for them to encamp in, especially when their enemies surpassed them in numbers: so Josephus represents Jonathan the Maccabee, as encamping in the fens of Jordan, and after being forced from thence by Bacchides, as returning thither again.‡ The secure retreat two young Babylonian Jews and their comrades found, seems to have been of the same kind, a reedy wood, surrounded by the Euphrates.‖

No commentator however, that I know of, has proposed this explanation of this piece of David's history, his causing the battle to be in the wood, and of the wood's destroying more than the fight. Instead of it, some of them have supposed the meaning of the last particular was, that Absalom's soldiers were destroyed by the wild beasts of

* Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1003.

† Antiq. l. 13, cap. 2.

‡ Ibid. cap. 1. § 3 and 5.

‖ Ibid. lib. 18, c. 9.

this wood. A most improbable thought: as we cannot believe that in such a time as that of king David, when Israel was so numerous, wild beasts should be so numerous in one of the woods of that country, as to occasion such a destruction; and if their numbers were ever so large, they would doubtless have retired upon the approach of the two armies, under the apprehension of danger to themselves,* rather than have stayed to devour those that fled. The expeditions of the Turks against Faccardine, the famous Emir that made such a noise in the beginning of the last century, were chiefly in the woods of Mount Lebanon, according to Mons. de la Roque, where, that author elsewhere tells us, there are many wild beasts,† yet not one word of either Maronites or Turks being injured by them occurs in this account.‡ Yet unnatural as this thought is, it is, we are told,‖ the comment of some Jewish writers, of the Chaldee Paraphrast, and of the authors of the Syriac and Arabic versions of the Old Testament.

Others have given different conjectures, which, if not so improbable as that I have been considering, are, however, I think, less natural than that I have proposed.

If we turn our thoughts to other countries, Lewis the Second of Hungary lost his life in a bog, fighting in his own kingdom, in the sixteenth century; and Decius, the Roman Emperor, long before him, perished with his army in a fen, according to Zosimus.

OBSERVATION XLVII.

OF THE WILD BEASTS IN THE HOLY LAND.

Wild beasts, however, were sometimes found in these countries, and ancient warriors thought it no small part of their glory to destroy them.

* See Shaw, p. 235.

† Voy. de Syr. tome 1, p. 70.

‡ Tome 2, p. 206.

‖ Vide Poli Syn. in 2 Sam. xviii. 8.

The exploits of Richard the First, and his warriors, in the Holy Land, are among the most celebrated of those times; yet Bishop Gibson gives us to understand, that Hugh Nevill considered his destroying a lion there by an arrow shot, and by running him through with his sword, as the noblest of his exploits: for he tells us, that his seal expressed this achievement, and the manner of it;* a monk also of that time thought it a fit subject for him, it seems, to celebrate, the Bishop having given us an old verse made on the same occasion in his account. Albertus Aquensis in like manner celebrates a German, named Wickerus, for an action of the same sort near Joppa;† a fact mentioned by another writer in that collection.‡

The same simplicity, and a taste a good deal like that of Nevill and the people of his time, without doubt, led the Prophet to select Benaiah's slaying a lion, in the midst of a pit in a time of snow, from many other exploits of the Jewish worthy which he could have mentioned, 2 Sam. xxiii. 20.||

OBSERVATION XLVIII.

HURTFUL ANIMALS COMMON IN THE HOLY LAND.

MICE, small as those animals are, have been sometimes extremely troublesome, and indeed destructive, to Palestine.

* See his additions to Camden's Account of Essex, in his Britannia, p. 358.

† Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 314. ‡ Page 75.

|| David had to defend his flock from bears as well as lions, 1 Sam. xvii. 34: and, as Dr. Shaw gives us to understand, these rugged animals are not peculiar to the bleak countries of the North, being found in Barbary; so Thevenot informs us, that they inhabit the wilderness adjoining to the Holy Land, and that he himself saw one near the northern extremities of the Red Sea, part 1, p. 163, 164. How much nearer the inhabited parts of Palestine they have been observed by modern travellers, I cannot say.

Commentators, upon occasion of what is said, 1 Sam. vi. 4, 5.* have cited abundance of passages, relating to the havoc made by creatures of this genus, in other countries; but they are silent as to Judea's suffering by them, at other times besides that mentioned in the prophetic history, which would however, have been much more satisfactory, or at least pleasing.

This is not owing to its being a kind of scourge never known there, excepting in that particular case mentioned in the book of Samuel; but to a want of extending their inquiries far enough: for we find an account of this country's suffering by this kind of animal, in the history of William the Archbishop of Tyre, a little before his time, in the beginning of the twelfth century. The Archbishop's account in short is,† that a kind of penitential council was held at Naplouse, in the year one thousand one hundred and twenty, where five and twenty canons were framed, for the correction of the manners of the inhabitants of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, who they apprehended had provoked GOD to bring upon them the calamities of earthquakes, war, and famine. This last the Archbishop ascribes to locusts and devouring mice, which had for four years together so destroyed the fruits of the earth, as seemed to cause a total failure of that branch of their food.

The ravages of locusts in Palestine have been frequently taken notice of by authors; but here mice were joined with them, as making havoc of the country. What species of this genus of animals is meant by the Archbishop, may be the subject of very curious inquiry. The creature meant, was, it seems, very destructive; but

* Bishop Patrick in particular.

† Gesta Dei, p. 823, 824. Regnum Hierosolymorum multis vexationibus fatigaretur, & præter eas quæ ab hostibus inferebantur molestias, *locustarum* intemperie & edacibus *muribus*, jam quasi quadriennio continuo fruges ita penitus deperissent, ut omne firmamentum panis defecisse videretur.

the *jird*, the *jerboa*, or *yerboa*, and the *daman Israel*, are all supposed by Dr. Shaw* to be harmless animals.

Fulcherius Carnotensis gives us to understand, that the usual time when the mice injure the corn is at its first sprouting, as that of the locusts is after it is in the ear.†

OBSERVATION XLIX.

OF CHARMING NOXIOUS ANIMALS.

SOME of the venomous animals of this country, it was supposed, might be charmed, and their noxious effects, by that means, prevented.

Dr. Shaw has taken notice of this opinion's remaining in the Levant; I should not therefore have mentioned it in these papers, had not Sir John Chardin given an account in his MS. of another circumstance, which Shaw has omitted, and which he supposes is alluded to in Psalm lviii. 6.

Break their teeth, O GOD, *in their mouth: break out the great teeth of the young lions, O* LORD, are the words of the Psalmist. It would have been natural to suppose the image changed at the beginning of this verse, and that the whole verse spoke of lions, had we not been told by Chardin, that those who know how to tame serpents by their charms, are wont commonly to break out their teeth.

It appears by Pool, that Hammond had the same sentiment; this account may serve to strengthen this opinion.

There is a marginal addition in the MS. relating to the power of music over serpents, and some other circumstances, so extraordinary, that as that MS. is not likely ever to be published, I would set it down here, and leave it to my readers to make what reflections upon it they please. "It appears, says the margin, that all the teeth of a serpent are not venomous, because those that charm

* Page 176, 177, 348. † Gesta Dei, p. 427.

them will cause their serpents to bite them till they draw blood, and yet the wound will not swell. Adders will swell at the sound of a flute, raising themselves up on one half of their body, turning the other part about, and beating proper time; being wonderfully delighted with music, and following the instrument. Its head, before round and long, like an eel, it spreads out broad and flat, like a fan. Adders and serpents twist themselves round the neck and naked body of young children, belonging to those that charm them. At Surat, an Armenian seeing one of them make an adder bite his flesh, without receiving any injury, said, I can do that; and causing himself to be wounded in the hand, he died in less than two hours."

A serpent's possessing a musical ear, its keeping time in its motions with the harmony, its altering the shape of its head, are circumstances which, if true, are very wonderful.*

OBSERVATION L.

HOLLOW ROCKS AND CAVES, PLACES OF DEFENCE.

When the Grand Seignior ordered the Bashaw of Damascus to make the Emir Faccardine a prisoner; Faccardine shut himself up in the hollow of a great rock, with a small number of his officers, where the Bashaw besieged him some months, who was on the point of blowing up the rock, when the Emir surrendered on some conditions, Nov. 12, 1634. A lively comment, I have always thought this, on Sampson's retiring, after various exploits against the Philistines, to the top of the rock Etam; and on his surrendering himself afterward into the hands of the men of Judah, sent by the Philistines to take him.

Nor is this to be supposed a kind of defence which Sampson and Faccardine made use of, merely from their

* See however Shaw's Travels, p. 411.

being unable, on the account of a surprise, to recover some place of great safety; they were considered as very strong places, and made use of frequently in that country in the time of the Croisades, by those Christians who went from the west, and were perfectly well acquainted with the manner of fortifying places in Europe in that age.* One of those places, which the history of the Croisades mentions, was in the territory of Sidon: but in the days of the Prophets, Edom seems to have been distinguished from the other Eastern nations by this sort of fastnesses, Obad. v. 3, 4; Jer. xlix. 16.

The caves, the rocks, the high places, and the dens, which we read of 1 Samuel xiii. 6, and Judges vi. 2, seem to have been, at least some of them, places of much less strength, answerable to those places to which people retired in the time of the Croisades for a little shelter, but out of which they were soon forced:† safety in them being rather to be hoped for from their secresy than their strength.

One of the writers in the Gesta Dei per Francos speaks of the inhabitants of the region called Trachonitis, as usually living in caves;‡ but I do not remember that the Scriptures any where directly refer to such habitations, at least I presume that is not the meaning of the Edomites making their nests on high, which the Prophets Obadiah and Jeremiah speak of.

Remarks of this kind, in general, have been frequently made, I am very sensible; all that I pretend to in this article, is the illustrating some passages a little more particularly than has been done before me.

* Vide Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 944, 946, 962, 1026.

† Page 405, 734, 781.

‡ Page 895

OBSERVATION LI.

TENTS USUALLY PITCHED NEAR FOUNTAINS.

THE Archbishop of Tyre tells us, that the Christian kings of Jerusalem used to assemble their forces at a fountain between Nazareth and Sepphoris, which was greatly celebrated on that account. This being looked upon to be nearly the centre of their kingdom, they could from thence, consequently, march most commodiously to any place where their presence was wanted.* He mentions also another fountain near a town called little Gerinum, which, he says, was the ancient Jezreel; near this Saladine pitched his camp, for the benefit of its waters,† while Baldwin king of Jerusalem had, as usual, assembled his army at the first mentioned place.

This solicitude in the princes of these sultry climates to pitch near fountains; this mention that is made of one by Jezreel; this custom of assembling their armies in the centre of their kingdom; all serve to illustrate the 1 Sam. xxix. 1, which speaks of the encampment of Israel at a fountain considerably distant from the proper country of the Philistines, just before the fatal battle which concluded the reign of Saul. If the Philistines had extended their territories at this time to Mount Carmel;‡ if they were wont to make their irruptions into the land of Israel that way, in that age; or if Saul had received intelligence of such a design at this time; these circumstances, or any of them, would further explain the propriety of this pitching by the fountain of Jezreel: but what William of Tyre says about the managements of the Christian kings of Jerusalem of his days, and of their predecessors, is alone a more clear illustration of this passage than commentators have furnished us with.

* Gesta Dei, &c. p. 991, 1027, 1036, 1037. † Page 1037.

‡ Vide Relandi Pal. p. 77.

And perhaps this may serve to explain Psalm lxviii. 26, *Bless ye God in the congregations, even the* LORD, *from the fountain of Israel*, from the *vein* of Israel, ממקור ישראל *mimmekor yisrael*. The exact word of the original, which is translated *congregations* מקהלות *makehaloth*, occurs no where else, I think, in the Scripture ;* but a word derived from the same root, and consequently near akin to it, means the assembly of Israel gathered together for war, Judg. xx. 2 ; Ch. xxi. 8 ; 1 Sam. xvii. 47 ; Gen. xlix. 6. Water must have been as necessary for those ancient armies of Israel, as for the less numerous ones of the Christian kings of Jerusalem ; it is natural therefore to suppose they used to assemble near some plentiful fountain, and as natural to suppose they generally made use of one and the same fountain, as that the princes of the cross should ; whether that between Sepphoris and Nazareth, or that by Jezreel, or any other, it nothing concerns us here to determine. That place must have been well known in those days, and might, in the language of poetry, be as well called the fountain of Israel, as to be marked out by its particular name. Bless GOD in your warlike assemblies, even the LORD from the fountain of Israel, the stated place of your rendezvous; for the LORD shall bless you in your consultations there, and you may march from thence with songs of praise, and confident hopes of success.†

There are other places in the Gesta Dei per Francos,‡ and other places in the Scripture,‖ which speak of the pitching near fountains ; might not an exact account of the fountains of this country serve to settle many points of geography, relating to the places where the armies of the Old Testament times encamped ?

* Though the feminine plural form of the noun קחל *kahal* occurs no where else in the Bible, yet the noun and all forms of the verb occur in many scores of places, and is the usual word by which *assemblies*, religious and civil are designated in the Bible. EDIT.

† See 2 Chron. xx. 21. ‡ Page 982, 993, 1027.

‖ So the army of Ishbosheth sat down by the pool of Gibeon, 2 Sam. ii. 12, 13.

OBSERVATION LII.

THE GREAT NECESSITY OF FOUNTAINS, AND RESERVOIRS OF WATER IN THE EAST.

As a plentiful fountain was very necessary, in that country, in those places in which they were wont to rendezvous; so the want of water must have been very terrible in any after encampments, in their pursuing a war, and especially when they had to stay any time in such a place.

The thought then of Hezekiah, who proposed to his princes the stopping of all fountains, and the brook that ran through the midst of the land, when Sennacherib was making his approaches to Jerusalem, was on this account very natural; but it may be thought to be a proof of the great simplicity of antiquity, to entertain such a thought, and more so, if he was able to effect his scheme. How could fountains and a brook be so stopped as totally to be concealed? How easy was it for such a mighty army as the Assyrian to sink a multitude of wells?

But odd as this contrivance may seem, it was actually made use of at the same place, many centuries after Hezekiah's time, and greatly perplexed an European army, and that too assembled from various warlike countries. For William of Tyre, describing the besieging of Jerusalem by the Croises in 1099, tells us, that its inhabitants having had advice of their coming, stopped up the mouths of their fountains and cisterns for five or six miles round the city, that being overwhelmed with thirst, they might be obliged to desist from their design of besieging it. This management of theirs occasioned, he informs us, infinite trouble afterward to the Christian army: the inhabitants in the mean time not only having plenty of rain water, but enjoying the benefit of the springs too, without the town, their waters being conveyed by aqueducts into two

very large basins within it.* These precautions indeed did not hinder the Croises from persevering in the siege from June 7, to July 15, and succeeding at last; but he says, the army was distressed with thirst in the most terrible manner, notwithstanding it had the assistance of some of the Christian inhabitants of Bethlehem and Tekoa, who being in the army, in considerable numbers, conducted the people to fountains at four or five miles distance. For as for the nearer neighbourhood of Jerusalem, it was very dry and unwatered soil, having scarce any brooks, or fountains, or pits of fresh water, and all those they filled up with dust, and by other means, as much as they could; and either broke down the cisterns of rain water, or maliciously hid them, that they might be of no advantage to the pilgrims. And as for those distant fountains to which they were conducted, there was such pressing, and hindering one another from drawing, that it was with difficulty, and after long delays, that they got a little muddy water in their leather bottles, of which a draught could not be purchased but at an extravagant rate. As for the fountain of Siloam, which was near, sometimes it had no water, and sometimes when it had, it was not agreeable to drink, so that it did not afford a sufficient supply to the army by any means. The men however made a shift, one way or another, to save themselves from perishing by thirst; but the horses, mules, asses, flocks, and herds, died in great numbers, and occasioned a dangerous pestilential corruption of the air. The besieged in the mean while, by their frequent sallies, cut off great numbers of those that were dispersed about in search of provisions and forage.†

What the Archbishop of Tyre has said concerning the nature of the country about Jerusalem, shows the impracticability of an army's supplying itself with water by sinking of wells; springs in the earth being rare there,

* Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 749. † Gesta Dei, &c. p. 751, 752.

and the soil on the contrary extremely dry. It shows also how easily such wells as have a supply of water *may be concealed* which is what the term* עינות *ayanoth*, translated *fountains* in the 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4, frequently means,† and what Hezekiah must mean, since there was no fountain to form any brook in the near neighbourhood of Jerusalem, excepting that of Siloam, as St. Jerom expressly affirms, in his commentary on Jeremiah xiv.‡ which the accounts of travellers of later ages have confirmed.

That stream which flowed from Siloam is, I presume, the brook that Hezekiah speaks of, which in the time of the Croisades was not attempted to be stopped up. What the cause of that was we are not told, but it seems the waters of some springs without the city were conveyed into Jerusalem at the time; and that Solomon in his reign had attempted to do the like, and effected it:‖ as to part of the water of the springs of Bethlehem, it was no wonder then that Hezekiah should think of introducing the waters of Siloam in like manner into the city, in order at once to deprive the besiegers of its waters, and benefit the inhabitants of Jerusalem by them. Probably it was done in the same manner that Solomon brought the waters of Bethlehem thither, that is, by collecting the water of the spring or springs into a subterraneous reservoir, and from thence, by a concealed aqueduct, conveying them into Jerusalem, with this difference, that Solomon took only part of the Bethlehem water, leaving the rest to flow into those celebrated pools which remain to this day; whereas Hezekiah turned all the water of Siloam into the city, absolutely stopping up the outlet into the pool, and

* The term means no such thing: for עין *ayin* signifies simply either a *fountain* or an *eye*; not covered or concealed, but open and exposed to view. EDIT. † See Gen. xxiv. 13.

‡ Uno quippe fonte Siloe, et hoc non perpetuo utitur civitas, et usque in præsentem diem sterilitas pluviarum, non solum frugum, sed et bibendi inopiam facit. ‖ Maundrell, p. 89, 90.

filling it up with earth, that no trace of it might be seen by the Assyrian. Which seems indeed to be the account of the sacred writer, 2 Chron. xxxii. 30, *The same Hezekiah also stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon,* (which is another name for Siloam,) *and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David.* Thus our translators express it: but the original may as well be rendered, "Hezekiah stopped the upper going out מוצא *motsa*, of the waters of Gihon, and directed them underneath למטה *lemattah*, to the west of the city of David;" and so Pagninus and Arias Montanus understand the passage; he stopped up, that is, the outlet of the waters of Gihon into the open air, by which they were wont to pass into the pool of Siloam, and became a brook; and by some subterraneous contrivance directed the waters to the west side of Jerusalem.

But besides these methods of stopping up wells, and breaking down cisterns, the same writer* informs us of another way the Eastern people have sometimes practised, to deprive their enemies of the use of their waters; that is, the throwing into them such filth as rendered them not drinkable. This was done in particular by the people at a place called Bosseret. Accident also has sometimes, after much the same manner, made them unfit for drinking: so, in describing the expedition of Baldwin III. against the same town, he says, that his army underwent very great thirst at that time; for passing through the country of Trachonitis, which has no fountains, only cisterns of rain water, it happened that at the time he passed through it, these cisterns were rendered useless by means of the locusts, which had a little before swarmed to an uncommon degree, and dying, had occasioned such putrefaction in their waters, as to render the drinking of them insupportable.† It is not impossible that the corrupt spring to which Solomon alludes, Prov. xxv. 26, and to which he compares a righteous man slain by a wicked one,

* Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1021. † Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 895.

whose promised usefulness was by that means cut off, might intend a receptacle of water made useless after this manner; though it must be allowed that the corrupting a rill of water, by making it muddy, is as natural an interpretation.

OBSERVATION LIII.

FOUNTAINS, THE LURKING PLACES OF ROBBERS AND ASSASSINS.

Dr. Shaw mentions a beautiful rill in Barbary, which is received into a large basin, called *shrub we krub*, drink and away, there being great danger of meeting there with rogues and assassins.* If such places are proper for the lurking of murderers in times of peace, they must be proper for the lying in ambush in times of war: a circumstance that Deborah takes notice of in her song, Judges v. 11.

But the writer who is placed first in that collection which is intituled Gesta Dei per Francos, gives a more perfect comment still on that passage: for, speaking of the want of water, which the Croisade army so severely felt, at the siege of Jerusalem, he complains, that besides their being forced to use water that stunk, and barley bread, their people were in continual danger from the Saracens, who lying hid near all the fountains, and places of water, every where destroyed numbers of them, and carried off their cattle.†

To which may be added a story from William of Tyre, relating to Godfrey duke of Lorrain, afterward king of Jerusalem, who stopping short of Antioch five or six miles, to which place he was returning, in order to take some refreshment in a pleasant grassy place near a foun-

* Page 20. † Page 27.

tain, was suddenly set upon by a number of horsemen of the enemy, who rushed out of a reedy fenny place near them, and attacked the duke and his people.*

OBSERVATION LIV.

OF THE WATER ENGINES WROUGHT BY THE FEET.

But though Hezekiah stopped up the wells of water, &c. Sennacherib however boasted that he was not afraid of wanting water, or of being reduced to get it with hazard or difficulty from small fountains, at a distance; which boast was perhaps occasioned by an account he had heard, of the precautions taken by Hezekiah: *I have digged and drank strange waters, and with the sole of my feet have I dried up all the rivers of besieged*, or fenced *places*, or of Egypt, as others understand it. 2 Kings xix. 24.

The curious Vitringa admires† the explanation which Grotius has given, of that watering with the foot by which Egypt was distinguished from Judea,‡ derived from an observation made on Philo, who lived in Egypt, Philo having described a machine used by the peasants of that country for watering as wrought by the feet; which sort of watering Dr. Shaw has since understood of the gardener's putting a stop to the further flowing of the water in the rill, in which those things were planted that wanted watering, by turning the earth against it with his foot.|| Great respect is due to so candid and ingenious a traveller as Dr. Shaw; I must however own, that I apprehend the meaning of Moses is more truly represented by Grotius than the Doctor. For Moses seems to intend to represent the great labour of this way of watering by the foot, which the working that instrument really was, on which

* Page 734, 735. † In Com. in Jesaiam. ‡ Deut. xi. 10. || Page 408.

account it seems to be laid aside in Egypt since the time of Philo, and easier methods of raising the water made use of; whereas the turning the earth with the foot which Dr. Shaw speaks of, is the least part of the labour of watering. If it should be remarked, that this machine was not older than Archimides, which has been supposed, I would by way of reply observe, that the more ancient Egyptian machines might be equally wrought with the foot, and were undoubtedly more laborious still, as otherwise the invention of Archimides would not have brought them into disuse.

But though I think the interpretation of Deut. xi. 10, by Grotius is preferable to that of Dr. Shaw, I readily admit that the Doctor's thought may be very naturally applied to these words of Sennacherib, to which however the Doctor has not applied it; for he seems to boast, that he could as easily turn the water of great rivers, and cause their old channels to become dry, as a gardener stops the water from flowing any longer in a rill by the sole of his foot.

And as the gardener stops up one rill and opens another with his mattock,* to let in the water; so, says Sennacherib, I have digged and drank strange waters, that is, which did not heretofore flow in the places I have made them flow in. This is the easiest interpretation that can, I believe, be given to the word *strange*, made use of by this Assyrian prince, and makes the whole verse a reference to the Eastern way of watering: I have digged channels, and drank, and caused my army to drink out of new made rivers, into which I have conducted the waters that used to flow elsewhere, and have laid those old channels dry with the sole of my foot, with as much ease as a gardener digs channels in his garden, and directing the waters of a cistern into a new rill, with his foot stops up that in which it before ran.

* See Shaw in the last cited place.

In confirmation of all which, let it be remembered, that this way of watering by rills is in use in those countries from whence Sennacherib came;* continued down from ancient times there, without doubt, as it is in Egypt.

The understanding those words of the Psalmist, Ps. lxv. 9, *Thou visitest the earth and waterest it, thou greatly enrichest it with the river of* GOD, of the watering it as by a rill of water, makes an easy and beautiful sense; the rain being to the earth in general, the same thing from GOD, that a watering rill, or little river, is to a garden from man.

OBSERVATION LV.

CUTTING DOWN VALUABLE PLANTATIONS, ONE OF THE METHODS USED TO DISTRESS AN ENEMY.

As the people of these countries endeavoured to distress those that came to besiege them, by concealing their waters; so those on the other hand frequently cut down the most valuable trees of their enemies. This Moses forbad to be done in Canaan; but the Moabites were punished after this manner, according to 2 Kings iii. 19, 25.

The Arabs of the Holy Land, we are told, still make war after this manner on each other, burning the corn, cutting down the olive trees, carrying off the sheep, and doing one another all possible damage; excepting that these Arabian villagers never touch one another's lives.† The Turks in like manner are wont to cut down the mulberry trees of the Maronites, which are of great importance to them for feeding their silk worms, silk being one of the greatest articles their country affords, when they

* Thevenot, part 2, p. 50, 51.

† See Egmont and Heyman, vol. 1, p. 330, and p. 329. Hasselquist, p. 143, 144.

would distress those poor Christians : so Dr. Pococke tells us, he himself, when he visited Mount Lebanon, saw a great number of their young mulberry trees, which had been cut down by a Pasha, who had some demands upon them which they could not answer.*

OBSERVATION LVI.

STRONG WATCH TOWERS, BUILT IN THE VICINITY OF CITIES, TO KEEP THEIR INHABITANTS IN CHECK.

It has been a frequent complaint among learned men, that it is commonly difficult, and oftentimes impossible, to illustrate many passages of the Jewish history, referred to in the annals of their princes, and in the predictions of their Prophets, for want of profane historians of the neighbouring nations of any great antiquity ; upon which I have been ready to think, that it might not be altogether vain, to compare with those more ancient transactions, events of a later date that have happened in those countries, in nearly similar circumstances, since human nature is much the same in all ages, allowing for the eccentricity that sometimes arises from some distinguishing prejudices of that particular time.

The situation of the Christian kings of Jerusalem, in particular, in the twelfth century, bears in many respects a strong resemblance to that of the kings of Judah ; and the history of the Croisades may serve to throw some light on the transactions of the Jewish princes. At least the comparing them together may be amusing.

It is said of king Uzziah, 1 Chron. xxvi. 6, that *he went forth and warred against the Philistines, and brake down the wall of Gath, and the wall of Jabneh, and the wall of Ashdod, and built cities about Ashdod and*

* Vol. 2, p. 97.

among the Philistines. Thus we find, in the time of the Croisades, when that ancient city of the Philistines, called Ascalon, had frequently made inroads into the territories of the kingdom of Jerusalem; the Christians built two strong castles not far from Ascalon; and finding the usefulness of these structures, king Fulk, in the spring of the year of our Lord 1138, attended by the patriarch of Jerusalem and his other prelates, proceeded to build another castle, called Blanche Guarda,* which he garrisoned with such soldiers as he could depend upon, furnishing them with arms and provisions. These watching the people of Ascalon, often defeated their attempts, and sometimes they did not content themselves with being on the defensive, but attacked them and did them great mischief, gaining the advantage of them. This occasioned those who claimed a right to the adjoining country, encouraged by the neighbourhood of such a strong place, to build many villages, in which many families dwelt, concerned in tilling the ground, and raising provisions for other parts of their territories. Upon this the people of Ascalon, finding themselves encompassed round by a number of inexpugnable fortresses, began to grow very uneasy at their situation, and to apply to Egypt for help by repeated messages.†

Exactly in the same manner, we may believe Uzziah built cities about Ashdod that were fortified, to repress the excursions of its inhabitants, and to secure to his people the fertile pastures which lay thereabout; and which pastures, I presume, the Philistines claimed, and indeed all the low land from the foot of the mountains to the sea, but to which Israel claimed a right, and of a part of which this powerful Jewish prince actually took possession, and made settlements for his people there, which he thus guarded from the Ashdodites: "He built cities about Ashdod, even among the Philistines," for so I

* Or the White Watch Tower. † Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 886, 887.

would render the words, as the historian appears to be speaking of the same cities in both clauses.

Uzziah did more than king Fulk could do, for he beat down the walls not only of Gath and Jabneh, two neighbouring cities, but of Ashdod itself, which must have cut off all thoughts of their disturbing the Jewish settlers, protected by strong fortresses, when they themselves lay open to those garrisons. Askelon, on the contrary, remained strongly fortified, by fortresses built by the Christians.

OBSERVATION LVII.

CURIOUS PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO ASKELON.

In the time of the Croisades, Askelon appears to have been by far the most powerful of the five great cities of the ancient Philistines; and it seems to have been so in the time of the Prophet Amos, from his manner of describing it; *I will cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod, and him that holdeth the sceptre from Askelon*, ch. i. 8.

As the sceptre among the Jews belonged to the tribe of Judah;* so among the Philistines, in the days of Amos, it belonged to Askelon, which appears, in great part, to have been owing to its situation on the seashore.†

This may be thought somewhat strange, by those who read the account the Archbishop of Tyre gives of the nature of the coast there. He says, that city was of a semicircular form, the shore forming the chord, or semidiameter; the circular being to the eastward, or toward the land. Though seated on the shore, yet it had no port, nor a safe station for ships in the sea opposite to it; but a sandy coast, and dangerous when the wind

* Gen. xlix. 10. † See Jer. xlvii. 7, Zeph. ii. 6, 7.

was considerable, and very much to be suspected, unless the sea was very calm.*

Notwithstanding all this, it appears in that history to have been looked upon as a most important town, by both the Egyptians and Christians of the Holy Land, the first at great expense endeavouring to retain it, the others to get it into their hands, which at length they effected; but it was the last of the maritime towns of Syria that they got into their possession, and a long time before they could accomplish it, being frequently succoured from Egypt by sea. In p. 829, the Archbishop tells us, all the maritime towns were then reduced under the Christian power, excepting Tyre and Askelon; in p. 841, he informs us, Tyre was taken by them in 1124; and in pp. 929, 930, we have an account of the surrender of Askelon, but not until the year 1154.

At the beginning of these Croisade wars, it seems indeed that hardly any but Askelon remained of the five great cities of the Philistines: Ashdod is spoken of, p. 810, as a place whose station was known, but the town gone; p. 886, mention is made of a hill on which, according to tradition, Gath stood, where they erected a castle which they called Hibelin; p. 917 speaks of the rebuilding Gaza, in the time of king Baldwin III. which town then lay in ruins, and quite uninhabited.

The traces of great previous changes, in the country of the Philistines, may be remarked in the Holy Scriptures, and should be observed with care by commentators.

OBSERVATION LVIII.

OF THE IMPORTANCE OF SETTLEMENTS NEAR THE RED SEA.

THE possessing some place on, or near the Red Sea, was not only thought an object of importance in elder

* Gesta Dei, per Francos, p. 924.

times to Judea and Damascus, but has been so esteemed in later ages.

That it was so reckoned anciently appears from what the prophetic historian saith, 2 Kings xvi. 6. "At this time Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath* to Syria, and drave the Jews from Elath: and the Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there to this day. It was restored to Judah not long before by king Amaziah, great grandfather to Ahaz, from whom Rezin recovered it; and appears to have been in a ruinated state when Amaziah regained the possession of it; for he is said to have built Elath, as well as restored it to Judah, 2 Kings xiv. 22. When it was lost by Judah we are not, that I recollect, any where distinctly told; but we find it in the hands of Solomon, 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18, who appears to have made that a station for his shipping on the Red Sea, as well as Ezion-geber, another place on that sea: *Then went Solomon to Ezion-geber, and to Eloth,* or Elath, *at the seaside in the land of Edom. And Huram sent him by the hands of his servants, ships, and servants that had knowledge of the sea; and they went with the servants of Solomon to Ophir.*

The two kingdoms of Jerusalem and Damascus appear to be equally concerned, in later ages, to gain a footing in the country bordering on the Red Sea.

So Baldwin, the first Christian king of Jerusalem of that name, was desirous, according to the Archbishop of Tyre, to enlarge the bounds of his kingdom, by making a settlement in that part of Arabia that was called by the name of Syria Sobal, and which lay on or near the Red Sea.

Petra, the capital of the second of the Arabias, according to the reckoning of the Croisaders, known in those times by the name of Crak, according to St. Jerom, was

* On the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, which is distinguished from the western by the name of the Elanitic, so denominated, it is believed from this town of Elath.

but ten miles from Elath.* This was an exceeding strong place, which having been ruinated, was rebuilt by one of the nobles of Fulk, the fourth Christian king of Jerusalem,† those princes being desirous, we find, to establish themselves in the country beyond Jordan toward the south, which brought them near the Red Sea. Noradine, the king of Damascus at that time, had similar views, and went and besieged Petra in the time of king Amalric, the sixth of those princes, but was obliged to raise the siege by the constable of the kingdom, in the absence of the king.‡ Some years after Saladine, who united Damascus and Egypt together under his government, marched through Bashan and Gilead, then through the countries of Ammon and Moab to Crak, in order to besiege that city, which however he thought fit to abandon, upon the approach of the Christian army, after doing great damage to the town, and killing many of the inhabitants, but without being able to take the citadel.‖

Though the gaining the possession of a strong place on, or near the Red Sea, might be of little consequence to his Egyptian subjects, who had some ports at that time on that sea, and carried on a great traffic for rich Eastern commodities in that age, by means of the port of Aideb in Upper Egypt, from whence they were conveyed across the desert to the Nile, and from thence down that river to Alexandria;§ yet it must be of great consequence to the people of Damascus: it is therefore no wonder that Noradine first, and Saladine afterward, at the head of his Syrian troops, strove so hard to get possession of Crak; or that the Christian princes should take such pains to extend their dominions on that side, and after having gained that town, that they should be so solicitous to preserve it: Damascus being a distinct and quite separate state from Egypt, when Saladine first set up for himself,

* Vide Relandi Pal. illust. p. 932. † Gesta Dei, per Francos, p. 1039.

‡ Page 992, 993. ‖ Page 1039, &c. § Page 972

and becoming again quite distinct from it upon his death, one of his family succeeding him in Damascus, and another branch of it in Egypt, and a desert of several days' journey over intervening, and another state too, while that part of Arabia was held by the princes of the Croisades.

But these princes did not limit themselves to that part of this country which they called the second Arabia, and of which Crak, anciently called Petra, was the capital; they went on still more to the southward, passing through the second into the third Arabia,* where they built a very strong fortress in a very healthful, pleasant, and fertile place, producing plenty of corn, wine, and oil, by means of which fortress they expected to hold the adjoining country in subjection.† They erected also another castle in that country, to which castle they gave the name of the valley of Moses.‡

Unfortunately Bongarsius, the editor of William of Tyre, and the other historians of those times, has not given us a good map of those countries; nor are the accounts of the Archbishop of Tyre so clear as could be wished, but it seems that this third Arabia lay near, or perhaps about, the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, in which case it must have included Aila or Elath, for that town, called the valley of Moses, the Archbishop tells us, was supposed to be near the Waters of Strife, which Moses brought forth out of the rock, and *the congregation drank, and their beasts also.*|| This circumstance is mentioned Numb. xx. 1—13, and was when they were in Kadesh, in the border of Edom, and but a little before their entering into Canaan.

This third Arabia, or Syria Sobal, certainly lay considerably to the east of the western gulf of the Red Sea, and the country between them was a wild uninhabited desert, for we are told that after king Baldwin had built his chief fortress in this third Arabia, which was called

* Called also in those times Syria Sobal.

† Gesta Dei, p. 812.

‡ Gesta Dei, p. 893.

|| Ibid.

Mount Royal, he being desirous to acquire a more perfect knowledge of those provinces, took proper guides, and a suitable train of attendants, and passing over Jordan and through Syria Sobal, he went through that vast desert to the Red Sea, the historian evidently means the western gulf of that sea, and entering into Helim, a most ancient city, where the Israelites found twelve wells and seventy palm trees, the inhabitants of the place were so terrified by the coming of Baldwin, that they immediately betook themselves to the vessels they had in the adjoining sea. The king having made his observations, returned the way he came thither, going to Mount Royal, which he had built a little before, and from thence to Jerusalem.*

Though no mention is made of views to commerce in the making these settlements in the third Arabia, and though those princes were much more of a martial turn, than attentive to trade, yet they highly valued the productions of India and of Arabia Felix, when they happened on them among the spoils of the Egyptian camps, with which people we find they often fought, and therefore could not but be well pleased, with the facilitating the conveyance of those commodities into their kingdom, from the Elanitic gulf of the Red Sea, whose navigation was much easier than on the Western, up to Suez ; and saved the crossing the desert from the port of Aideb to the Nile, and from Alexandria across the desert between Egypt and Gaza, if they disembarked those precious commodities on the coast of Upper Egypt, and sent them from Alexandria by land.

Accordingly the author of the History of the Revolt of Ali Bey, has taken notice of the much greater facility of conveying things by the eastern gulf than by Suez, recommending to our East India Company to send their despatches by way of Cyprus to Gaza, from whence they might be sent in eight days by a camel, and in four by a

* Page 815.

dromedary, to Raithu, which lies on that eastern gulf, according to his map, from whence their letters could be forwarded to Mocha much sooner than they can from Suez.*

OBSERVATION LIX.

TOWERS USED FOR PEOPLE TO FLY TO, IN TIMES OF INSURRECTION OR DANGER.

But besides fortified towns and cities, we find that in the time of the Croisades they were wont to have towers, for the people of open towns to fly to in time of danger.

Thus in the reign of Baldwin II. when the strength of the kingdom was collected together to the siege of Tyre, the people of Ascalon suddenly invaded the country about Jerusalem, William of Tyre tells us, and put to the sword the greatest part of the inhabitants of a town called Mahomeria, five or six miles from Jerusalem: but the old men, the women, and the children, by betaking themselves to a *tower*, escaped.†

Towers of this sort seem to have been used very anciently. Judges ix. 51, gives us a story exactly like the Archbishop's; and the mention of them in the Old Testament history, shows the dangerousness of those times.‡

* Rev. of Ali Bey, p. 203, 204. † Gesta Dei, &c. p. 840.

‡ Sir John Chardin, in his MS. cannot admit that it was only a piece of a millstone that was thrown on the head of Abimelech, and occasioned his death; he supposes it was one of the two millstones which were thrown down whole and entire by the woman. This arose doubtless from his observing the smallness of the stones used in their handmills; and that it was not so natural to suppose the pieces of a broken millstone should be at hand on this occasion as a whole one. The error of our translation, if it be one, is not so evident to me as to this writer. I cannot, however, but observe here, that Sir John's way of rendering the words seems to be very much favoured by Job xli. 24, *His heart is as firm as a stone, yea, as hard as a piece of the nether millstone.* They might very well think it right to place the hardest millstone below; but is a piece harder than a

There were anciently *towers* also in their vineyards; Isaiah v. 2, and Matt. xxi. 33, are proofs of it: and it should seem in their gardens, Cant. vii. 4. They have also retained these towers in the East. So Marcus Sanutus tells us, that the inhabitants of Ptolemais beat down the towers of their gardens to the ground, and removed the stones of them, together with those of their burying place, upon the approach of the Tartars in one thousand two hundred and sixty.* Sandys also speaks of numbers of them in the country between Jerusalem and Bethlehem;† and Maundrell mentions the same sort of edifices, in his more modern account of the gardens of Damascus,‡ which confirms the account William of Tyre gives us of the gardens of the Levant in the twelfth century.‖

To a tower of this last kind, it is to be imagined our LORD refers in Luke xiv. 28: for I can hardly think, with some commentators, that he is speaking of the slight and unexpensive buildings in a vineyard, which indeed are sometimes so slight as to consist only of four poles with a floor on the top of them, to which they ascend by a ladder;§ but rather of those elegant turrets erected in gardens, where the Eastern people of fortune spend some considerable part of their time.

These towers are not designed for strength, but pomp, and perhaps convenience and pleasure. Nor do those other towers, designed for safety in times of danger, seem to have been very strong, but rather intended for a short defence in those unquiet times, when enemies were wont to make sudden irruptions into that country, and as suddenly retreat: for when Saladine could not force the city

stone that is whole? A mill is composed of two pieces of stone; and I should think it is sufficiently plain that the words there are to be understood of the lower piece, not of a fragment of that lower piece.

* Gesta Dei, per Francos, tome 2, p. 221. † Page 137. ‡ Page 122.

‖ Erant præterea intra ipsa pomeriorum septa, *domus eminentes* & *excelsæ*, quas viris pugnaturis communierant, &c. Gesta Dei, &c. p. 911.

§ See Pococke, vol. 2, p. 137

of Berytus, but thought fit to draw off, he nevertheless could, and did, demolish all the towers of the adjacent villages.* So Baldwin II. of Jerusalem,† returning victorious from fighting with the king of Damascus, forced a tower in his way home, in which were ninetysix of his enemies; and undermined another, in which were twenty, who were obliged to give it up without any further difficulty, upon which he entirely demolished it.‡ Gideon in like manner seems without much difficulty to have demolished the tower of Penuel, Judges viii. 9, 17.

OBSERVATION LX.

FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING THE USE OF THESE TOWERS.

William of Tyre describes a country not far from the Euphrates, as inhabited by Syrian and Armenian Christians, who fed great flocks and herds there, but were in subjection to the Turks, who, though few in number, yet living in strong places among them, kept them under, and received tribute from these poor peasants who inhabited the villages, and employed themselves in country business.‖

I do not know whether this may not give us a truer view, of the design of those towers that Uzziah built in the wilderness, mentioned 2 Chron. xxvi. 10, than commentators have done,§ who have supposed they were conveniencies made for sheltering the shepherds from bad weather, or to defend them from the incursions of enemies; for they might rather be designed to keep the nations that

* Gesta Dei, &c. p. 130. † Page 844.

‡ William of Tyre mentions another tower in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, built of unburnt brick, but fled to for refuge, which being undermined, fell upon the prince that was endeavouring to take it, and well nigh crushed him to death. Gesta Dei, p. 853.

‖ Page 950. § See Patrick upon the place.

pastured there in awe ; to prevent their disputing with his servants about wells,* and also to induce them quietly to pay that tribute to which the seventh and eighth verses seem to refer.

OBSERVATION LXI.

MOUNTAINS ALSO RESORTED TO, AS PLACES OF REFUGE.

PEOPLE too retired to the *mountains* anciently when defeated in war : they do so still.

Dr. Shaw indeed seems to suppose, that there was no greater safety in the hills than in the plains of this country : that there were few or no places of difficult access ; and that both of them lay equally exposed to the insults and outrages of an enemy, page 340. But in this point this ingenious writer seems to be mistaken : since, as we find that those that remained of the armies of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled to the mountains, in the days of Abraham, Gen. xiv. 10 ; so d'Arvieux tells us, that the rebel peasants of the Holy Land, who were defeated while he was in that country by the Arabs, in the plain of Gonin, fled toward the mountains, whither the Arabs could not pursue them at that time.†

So in like manner, the Archbishop of Tyre tells us, that Baldwin IV. of the Croisade kings of Jerusalem, ravaging a place called the valley of Bacar, a country remarkably fruitful, the inhabitants fled to the mountains, whither our troops could not easily follow them.‡

This flying to hills and mountains for safety, is frequently alluded to in Scripture.

* See Gen. xxi. 25 ; xxvi. 20, 21. † Voy. dans la Pal. p. 78, 79.

‡ Ad quos non erat facilè iter nostris pervium. Gesta Dei, p. 1003.

OBSERVATION LXII.

NATURE OF THE ENCAMPMENTS USED IN THE EAST.

In the Croisade wars, their encampments seem often to have been much less strong than in modern times, and we may believe that of Saul, when he pursued after David, was still less guarded.

One can hardly imagine then, that the Hebrew word מעגל *mâgal* signifies a ditch and bank thrown up, 1 Sam. xxvi. 5, as one would suppose our translators apprehended, from their using the word *trench;* for it appears from the story, that they took no precautions against David. Nor does it seem to mean a *ring of carriages*, as it is supposed in the margin, and as Buxtorf interprets the word,* for most probably the passing of carriages was impracticable in that mountainous country. It seems simply then to mean the *round* these troops formed, in the midst of which, as in the place of honor, Saul slept.

The view d'Arvieux gives us of a modern Arab camp, agrees perfectly well with this account of Saul, only supposing, that for the sake of expedition they carried no tents with them; for he tells us, an Arab camp is always *round* when the disposition of the ground will permit, the prince being in the middle, and the Arabs about him, but so as to leave a respectful distance between them.† Add to this, that *their lances are fixed near them* in the ground all the day long, ready for action.‡

When David is represented as sometimes secreting himself in the night, when he was with his armies, instead of lodging with the people, 2 Sam. xvii. 8, 9, it is to be supposed to refer to his not lodging in the middle of the camp, which was the proper place for a king, the better to avoid any surprise from enemies.

* Vide Buxtorfii Epit. Rad. Heb. † Voy. dans la Pal. p. 173, 174.

‡ Page 169.

OBSERVATION LXIII.

CURIOUS REMARKS ON HABAKKUK i. 8.

THE Bishop of Waterford has observed, in his notes on Hab. i. 8, that an ingenious author, whom he cites,* supposes that the clause, "their horsemen shall spread themselves," is a faulty addition to the words of the Prophet, as the Syriac translation omits the words *spread themselves;* and the Septuagint, he says, knew not what to make of it. But nothing is more easy to be conceived, if we consider the Chaldean army as rather engaged in pillaging and destroying the country, after the manner of the modern Tartars, than deciding their dispute with Judea, by set and regular battles.

Habakkuk says, *Their horses also are swifter than the leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves: and their horsemen shall spread themselves, and their horsemen shall come from far; they shall fly as the eagle that hasteth to eat.*

With this account, particularly the *spreading themselves;* I would compare the Baron de Tott's description of the manner in which an army of modern Tartars, in which he was present, conducted themselves; which may be seen in the following extracts:

"These particulars informed the cham† and the generals what their real position was: and it was decided, that a third of the army, composed of volunteers, commanded by a sultan and several mirzas, should pass the river, at midnight, divide into several columns, subdivide successively, and thus overspread New Servia, burn the villages, corn and fodder, and carry off the inhabitants and cattle, &c.‡

The rest of "the army, in order to follow the plan concerted, marched until it came to the beaten track, in the snow, made by the detachment. This we followed until we

* Mr. Green.

† The prince to whom the Tartars in Crimea are subject.

‡ Memoirs of de Tott, part 2, p. 171, 179,

arrived at the place where it divided into seven branches, to the left of which we constantly kept, observing never to mingle, or confuse ourselves, with any of the subdivisions, which we successively found, and some of which were only small paths, traced by one or two horsemen, &c.*

"Flocks were found, frozen to death, on the plain; and twenty columns of smoke, already rising in the horizon, completed the horrors of the scene, and announced the fires which laid waste New Servia, &c.†

"The care, the patience, the extreme activity with which the Tartars preserve their booty, are scarcely credible. Five or six slaves of all ages, sixty sheep, and twenty oxen, seem not to embarrass the man by whom they have been captured. The children, with their heads out of a bag, at the pommel of the saddle, a young girl sitting before him sustained by his left arm, the mother behind, the father on a led horse, the son on another, the sheep and oxen before, all are watched, all managed, nothing escapes the vigilant eye of the conductor. He assembles, directs, provides subsistence, walks himself to give ease to his slaves; nothing seems painful to him, and the picture would be truly interesting, if avarice and the most cruel injustice did not furnish the subject, &c.‡

"All researches after the inhabitants of Adjemka were useless, until the second day, when, at the moment of departure, the ricks of corn and forage, which concealed the poor people, were set on fire. Then it was that they came and cast themselves into the arms of their enemies to escape the flames, which devoured their harvests and their homes. The order to burn Adjemka was executed so suddenly, and the blaze caught the thatched houses with so much violence and rapidity, that we ourselves, at leaving it, were obliged to pass through the flames. The atmosphere was loaded with ashes, and the vapour of melted snow which, after having darkened the sun for a time, united and formed a gray snow, that crackled between our teeth.

* Page 174. † Page 175, 176. ‡ Page 183, 184.

"A hundred and fifty villages, which by being in like manner, burnt, produced the like effect, sent forth their clouds of ashes, twenty leagues into Poland, where our arrival only could explain the phenomenon."*

I do not know that the Septuagint interpreters found any difficulty, in understanding the meaning of the Hebrew word which signifies *spreading themselves*, though they have not used a word in their version of a very determinate sense; but Mr. Green certainly was embarrassed; which I believe, few of my readers will be, after having read the extracts given above from the memoir of the Baron de Tott. They will also serve to illustrate other parts of the description the Prophet gives of the Chaldean army, and the just cause the Prophet had for lamentation and apprehension, the incursions of the Chaldeans and of the Tartars manifestly bearing a great resemblance to each other. *I will raise up the Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty*, or swift *nation, which shall march through the breadth of the land*, ch. i. 6. *They are terrible and dreadful*, ver. 7, *Their faces shall sup up*, or consume, *as the east wind, and they shall gather the captivity*, or captives, *as the sand*, ver. 9, *When I heard*, of their coming, *my belly trembled; my lips quivered at the voice*, &c. *Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls*, expressing a devastation like what might be expected from an incursion of Tartars: *yet will I rejoice in the* LORD, ch. iii. 16, 17, 18.

OBSERVATION LXIV.

OF THE ANCIENT DIVISION OF COMPANIES INTO TEN MEN EACH.

IF we are to explain the sacred Jewish history by modern Eastern managements, and by those of other nations

* Page 183, 184.

in ancient times, we may suppose the appointment of every tenth man in the congregation of Israel, when gathered together to punish the tribe of Benjamin, mentioned Judges xx. 10, was not so much to *collect* food for the use of their companions in that expedition; as to *dress* it, to *serve* it up, and to *wait* upon them in eating it.

In the present Barbary camps, which march about their territories every year, we find by Pitts,* twenty men are appointed to each tent: two of them officers of different ranks, sixteen common soldiers, one a cook, and another a steward, who looks after the provisions. Here every tenth man is concerned in the management of their provisions: half as store keepers; the other half as cooks.

Among the Greeks, according to Homer,† they seem to have divided their troops into companies of ten each, one of whom waited upon the rest when they took their repast, under the name of the οινοχοος, which I think is usually translated *cup bearer;* but perhaps the person that was so characterised, not only gave them their wine, when they took their repasts, but had the care of their provisions, set out their tables, and perhaps had the principal share in cooking their food.

For it will be difficult to assign a reason, why Agamemnon should think of dividing the Greeks into companies of tens, if they had not been wont to divide them ten to a tent and mess, of which one ministered to the rest, when, comparing the numbers of the inhabitants of Troy and the Greeks together, he observed, that the Trojans were not sufficiently numerous to furnish cup bearers to the Greek companies, of ten each.

It was, probably, for the same reason, that Israel are supposed to be divided into companies, and that one of each company was to take care to provide victuals for the rest, not, it may be, as our translators seem to have imagined, by fetching provisions from their distant towns; but dressing that part of their food that wanted dressing,

* Page 28, 29. † Il. 2, v. 126, &c.

setting out their repasts in due order, giving them drink when requisite, and performing all the offices of the Grecian οινχοοι, or *cup bearers.*

Among the people of Barbary, the care of their provisions is divided between stewards and cooks; among the old Jews and Greeks, it should seem, one set of people discharged the functions of both offices.

So the word לקחת *lakachath*, translated in our version *to fetch*, to fetch victuals for the people, is used for preparing food, 2 Sam. xiii. 8; and for taking provisions when dressed, in order to set out a repast in a proper manner, Gen. xviii. 8; and doubtless in other places

Such an explanation agrees best with their expectation of speedily accomplishing their undertaking against Benjamin; whereas the sending home, by each company, for provisions, would have been a work of some time. Nor were the Israelites wont to assemble together, on public occasions, without taking provisions, since they were wont to do so when two or three only travelled together, as appears by the account of the Levite's journey,* which unhappily proved the occasion of this dreadful slaughter of the Benjamites.

How odd, after this, the expression of Bishop Patrick must appear, who supposes the tenth part of the army was to forage for the rest, as if they had been in an enemy's country !†

OBSERVATION LXV.

A REMARKABLE ILLUSTRATION OF GIDEON'S DEFEAT OF THE MIDIANITES.

A modern piece of Arab history very much illustrates the defeat of the Midianites by Gideon, and at the same

* Judges xix. 19.

† Bishop Partick's thought is, I am satisfied, in the mean, perfectly correct, and is sufficiently supported by the original words, for צרה לעם לקחת *lakachath tsedah laam*, signifies literally, *to take prey for the people.* But it probably means here such prey as was taken not in a *foraging party*, but in *hunting*. EDIT.

time points out wherein the extraordinary interposition of God appeared.

The Arab story is to be met with in Niebuhr's history of Arabia, and relates to a contest between two chiefs for the Imamship, or soverignty, of Oman, a considerable province of the southern part of that country. The substance of it is,* that one of them, whose name was Achmed, finding himself at first too weak to venture a battle, threw himself with a few soldiers, into a little fortress built on a mountain, where he had deposited his treasures. Bel Arrab, his rival, at the head of four or five thousand men invested the place, and would have forced the new Imam to surrender, had he not quitted the fortress, with two of his dometics, all three disguised like poor Arabs, who were looking out for grass for their camels. Achmed withdrew to a town a good day's journey from the besieged fortress, where he was much beloved; he found no difficulty in gathering together some hundreds of men, with whom he marched against his enemy. Bel Arrab had placed his camp between some high mountains near to the above mentioned fortress. Achmed ordered a coloured string to be tied round the heads of his soldiers, that they might be distinguished from their enemies. He then sent several small detachments to seize the passes of those mountains. He gave each detachment an Arab trumpet to sound an alarm on all sides, as soon as the principal party should give the signal. Measures being thus laid, the Imam's son gave the signal at day break, and the trumpets sounded on every side. The whole army of Bel Arrab being thrown into a panic at finding all the passes guarded, and judging the number of the enemy to be proportionate to the noise that was made, was routed. Bel Arrab himself marched with a party to the place where the son of the new Imam was keeping guard; he knew Bel Arrab, fell upon him, killed him, and, according to the

* Page 263.

custom of the Arabs, cut off his head, which he carried in triumph to his father.*

The very learned Michælis, in an extract he made from this description, which he published in his Bibliotheque Orientale, and which extract is placed at the end of that edition of this work of Niebuhr, which is in my possession, takes notice of this story in the following way. "P. 304, mention is made of a stratagem, entirely like Gideon's, Judges vii. and which appeared incredible to those who are accustomed to our method of making war, because not practicable in our times."†

There is a likeness undoubtedly, and such as very much illustrates the affair of Gideon, but the stories are not perfectly similar, nor should they be so represented, as the one is supposed to bear the marks of a dependence on an immediate divine interposition, the other only considered as a stratagem that might probably be successful, and turned out so.

The taking notice of each with some distinctness, may not be improper.

The army of Midian, as well as that of Bel Arrab, seems to have been encamped in some valley, or open place, surrounded with mountains dangerous to pass; while Gideon and his people were placed in an adjoining mountain difficult of access, for the sake of security. The sacred text expressly tells us, that the host of Midian was beneath Gideon in the valley, Judges vii. 8. The 12th verse also mentions their lying in vast multitudes in a valley. This Arab story leads us to apprehend it was a place encompassed with lofty hills, difficult to get over, and the passages into the plains in both cases, few and narrow. Nothing can be more probable than this supposition. The term *valley* supposes hills on each side, by which circumstance it is distinguished from that part of a flat open country which lies at the foot of a range of mountains. The descriptions of Judea answer

* See 1 Sam. xvii. 57. † Page 36.

this account ; a great part of it very mountainous, with large vallies among them with narrow passes. The placing Gideon's people round about the camp, verse 21, means placing them in *all* the passes.

The seizing the passes, and making use of an artifice to make the enemy believe they were more numerous than in truth they were, were like circumstances in both cases : as was the making an extraordinary noise with trumpets. Gideon's trumpets, and those used by this Arab, might very possibly be exactly the same ; but the number of those of the Jewish judge was by far the greatest.

But there was an essential difference between the two stories with regard to the being armed. The Imam's people kept the passes, and being armed, were enabled to kill those that attempted to escape, till the leader of their enemies was killed, or his forces reduced to such a number as not to be formidable ; but Gideon's people were unarmed at the time of the alarm, or at least incapable of using any arms, one hand being employed in holding a trumpet, the other a torch. There must then have been, in that case, an entire dependence on their destroying one another, in the confusion and terror of this sudden nocturnal alarm. They were not disappointed : a divine agency made the scheme effectual. But had the kings of Midian, like Bel Arrab, made up to one of the parties that keep guard at the passes, nothing there could effectually have prevented their escape, and the cutting off those that stood with their trumpets and lights in those narrow defiles.

One party's taking another party belonging to the same army for enemies, and by that means occasioning a fatal overthrow, has happened too often to render the account at all incredible, upon the foot of a mere natural event. The supposing an extraordinary divine agency cannot make it less so.

How many were destroyed when thus fatally enclosed does not appear. About fifteen thousand, out of one

hundred and twenty thousand, were collected together on the other side Jordan, Judges viii. 10, 11; but many of those that were slain were killed in their *flight*, and at the ford over Jordan, before they could reach that place of supposed security. What way they escaped, whether by clambering over the rugged hills, by a way they would not have ventured upon had they not been so terrified, but which they knew pointed toward Jordan, or how else, we are not told, but there is nothing in that circumstance neither that is beyond belief.

There is then a great resemblance between the Arab and the sacred story; but the learned and ingenious Gottingen professor* has been rather too hasty, when he asserts that they are *wholly* alike.†

OBSERVATION LXVI.

CURIOUS ILLUSTRATION OF 2 KINGS vii. 12.

THE suspicion the sacred historian ascribes to Joram, 2 Kings vii. 12, that the Syrians had left their camp, when they besieged Samaria, well stored with provisions, in order to entice the famished Israelites to quit that strong hold, that the Syrians might by this stratagem get them into their power, appears natural enough in itself; but its probability is pleasingly illustrated by what lately happened in that very country, and not far from Samaria. The reciting it indeed explains no difficulty, but as I imagine it may give many readers a very sensible pleasure, I will, without making any scruple about it, set down the relation that the History of the Revolt of Ali Bey gives of the transaction.

Having given some account of Ali's connections with an eminent Arab sheikh named Daher, who resided in St. John d'Acre, and governed the adjoining country, and

* Michaelis. † *Totalement* is the word that is used in this extract.

appears to have been united with Ali Bey, in the design of setting their respective countries free from the Ottoman yoke, against which Arab prince, therefore, the pasha of Damascus marched, in order to defeat the design, this author tells the following story :

" The pasha of Sham* found himself much harassed in his march by Sheikh Ali, the second son of Daher; and when he got near the sea of Tiberias, he found Sheikh Daher encamped there. When the sheikh beheld the enemy near enough, he deferred an engagement till the next morning; and during the night, divided his army into three bodies, one of three thousand to the east, upon the hills of Gadara, under the command of Sheikh Sleby; a second of three thousand men also, on the west towards Mount Libanus, commanded by Sheikh Crime, his son-in-law. The third, or main body, under himself, crossed the sea of Tiberias to the south, towards Galilee, leaving the camp with great fires, all sorts of provision, and a large quantity of spirituous liquors, giving strict orders not to hinder the enemy from taking possession of the camp, but to come down and attack them just before dawn of day.

" In the middle of the night the pasha of Sham thought to surprise Sheikh Daher, and marched in silence to the camp, which to his great astonishment, he found entirely abandoned, and thought the sheikh had fled with so much precipitation, that he could not carry off the baggage and stores. The pasha thought proper to stop in the camp to refresh his soldiers. They soon fell to plunder, and drank so freely of the liquors, that overcome with the fatigue of the day's march, and the fumes of the spirits, they were not long ere they were in a sound sleep. At that time Sheikh Sleby and Sheikh Crime, who were watching the enemy, came silently to the camp; and Sheikh Daher, having repassed the sea of Tiberias, meeting them, they all rushed into the camp, and fell on the

* He means, Damascus, or Syria.

confused and sleeping enemy, eight thousand of whom they slew on the spot; and the pasha, with the remainder of his troops, fled, with much difficulty, to Sham, leaving all their baggage behind."* To this should be added, that the pasha had twentyfive thousand men, and that Daher's scarcely exceeded nine thousand.

The camp of the ancient Syrians was left in much the same situation with Daher's, and Joram was afraid of the same fatal design: only we read of fires in the one case, and in the other of their beasts of burden being left tied behind them. The small quantity of Arab luggage, commonly made use by that alert nation, might well occasion no suspicion in the Turkish Pasha, as to the want of the last of these two circumstances; the difference as to the fires might arise from the different season of the year. No doubt, but that Daher gave all the probability he could to the artifice he made use of, and which succeeded so well.

OBSERVATION LXVII.

CURIOUS ILLUSTRATION OF JOEL iii. 3.

MORGAN, in his History of Algiers, gives us such an account of the unfortunate expedition of the emperor Charles the fifth against that city, so far resembling a passage of the Prophet Joel, as to induce me to transcribe it into these papers.

That author tells us, that besides vast multitudes that were butchered by the Moors and the Arabs, a great number were made captives, mostly by the Turks and citizens of Algiers; and some of them, in order to turn this misfortune into a most bitter taunting and contemptuous jest, parted with their new made slaves for an onion apiece. "Often have I heard," says he, "Turks and

* Page 99, 100, 101.

Africans upbraiding Europeans with this disaster, saying, scornfully, to such as have seemed to hold their heads somewhat loftily, "What! have you forgot the time, when a Christian, at Algiers, was scarce worth an onion?"*

The treatment of the Jewish people by the heathen nations, which the Prophet Joel has described, was, in like manner, contemptuous and bitterly sarcastic, *They have cast lots for my people, and have given a boy for an harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink*, Joel iii. 3.

They that know the large sums that are wont to be paid, in the East, for young slaves of either sex, must be sensible, that the Prophet designs, in these words, to point out the extreme contempt in which these heathen nations held the Jewish people.

OBSERVATION LXVIII.

STOPPING UP THE WELLS, AN ACT OF HOSTILITY IN THE EAST.

THERE is no difficulty in comprehending the account that is given, in the book of Genesis, of the *filling up the wells* Abraham had dug, and which Isaac was obliged to open again;† but it may seem extraordinary to us, that men should be disposed to do mischief of this kind; it may therefore be amusing just to observe, that the same mode of taking vengeance on those that were disagreeable to them, or whom they would prevent from coming among them, has been put in practice many ages since.

Niebuhr, in his account of Arabia, tells us, in one place,‡ that the Turkish emperors pretend to a right to that part of Arabia, that lies between Mecca and the countries of Syria and Egypt, but that their power amounts to very little. That they have however garrisons in divers little citadels, built in that desert, near the wells that are made

* Page 305. † Gen. xxvi. 15, 18. ‡ Page 302.

on the road from Egypt and Syria to Mecca, which are intended for the greater safety of their caravans. But in a following page* he gives us to understand, that these princes have made it a custom, to give annually to all the Arab tribes which are near that road, a certain sum of money, and a certain number of vestments, to keep them from destroying the wells that lie in that route, and to escort the pilgrims across their country.

They are apprehensive then, that if the Arabs should be affronted, and be disposed to do mischief, they might fill up those wells, which have been made for the benefit of their numerous caravans of pilgrims, and are of such consequence to their getting through that mighty desert.

It is true indeed that they have not always taken this step. The commander of the caravan of the Syrian pilgrims, not long ago, Niebuhr thinks in the year 1756, instead of paying the sheikhs of the tribe of Harb, one of the principal of their tribes on this road, who had come to receive the accustomed presents, cut off their heads, which he sent to Constantinople, as trophies of his victory. This year then the caravans went in triumph to Mecca, and returned without being disturbed by the Arabs. They did the same the next year. But the year after, upon the return of the pilgrims, fatigued with their journey, and many of them having sold their arms on account of their expenses, the Arabs assembled, to the number it is said of eighty thousand, and pillaged the whole caravan. From that time the Turks have submitted to pay the Arabs of that country the ordinary tribute, and perhaps more than that.†

Here is no account of preventing the pilgrimage, by filling up the wells. As the Arabs themselves believe it to be a duty of religion, it would have been impious in them to have done it.‡ They therefore contented them-

* Page 330. † Page 330, 331.

‡ Nor would it have been politic, since they did not want to prevent their making use of that road, but to make the Turks pay them well for that liberty.

selves with punishing the Turks, who they thought had defrauded them, and making themselves ample amends, for the loss of two years' tribute.

But we have accounts of the wells being actually filled up in some other cases. So we find in d'Herbelot, that Gianabi, a famous kharegite or rebel in the 10th century, gathering a number of people together, seized on Bassora and Coufa, two considerable cities; afterward insulted the then reigning khalif, by presenting himself boldly before Bagdat, his capital; after which he retired by little and little, filling up all the pits with sand which had been dug in the road to Mecca, for the benefit of the pilgrims.*

We may be perhaps surprised, that the Philistines should treat such friendly and upright people as Abraham and Isaac after this sort: but they were afraid of their power, and wished to have them removed to a distance,† and the filling up the wells they dug for their cattle, however useful they might be to themselves, they thought the best expedient to keep them at a distance.

OBSERVATION LXIX.

CURIOUS ILLUSTRATION OF 1 SAM. V. 1—10.

THE account that Pietro della Vallé gives,‡ of the manner of carrying two of the bells of the church of Ormuz into Persia in triumph, affords us a pleasing illustration, of what is said of the carrying about the captive ark, by the Philistines, in the time of the Judges.‖

Every body knows, that bells are considered as sacred things among the Roman Catholics, and as much disliked among the Mohammedans, who will not allow them to be used by Christians that live among them, except in a very few extraordinary cases. The Portuguese had pos-

* Page 396. † Gen. xxvi. 16.

‡ Let. 16, tome 6, p. 40. ‖ 1 Sam. v. 1, 8, 9, 10.

sessed themselves of a small island called Ormuz, in the Persian gulf, belonging properly to an Arab prince, from whence they were so troublesome to the Persians, that the celebrated Persian king Abbas was determined to dislodge them thence, which at last he effected by the help of some English ships; and when della Vallé was in the southern part of Persia, he saw the spoils of Ormuz carried with great triumph to be presented to Abbas: there was a good deal of solemnity made use of, as they were carried from town to town in their way to the capital.

Della Vallé tells us, that when he was at Lar, the 28th of May, 1622, he saw arrive there two bells of the church of Ormuz, which were carrying in triumph to the king of Persia, with the rest of the booty of that place, where they were received with great solemnity; the *calenter*,* with his attendants, going to meet them, and receiving them with the music of fifes and drums, amidst a great concourse of people. They were placed upon two small waggons made for that purpose, with very low wheels; most probably the ark was in a like triumphant manner carried from Ebenezer to Ashdod, and from thence to Gath. Whether they continued their triumph, when they removed it to Ekron, may be more doubtful: but we can hardly suppose but that, upon its first being carried into the land of the Philistines, it was in a triumphant manner; and the word that is made use of to express its removal to Gath, seems to intimate its being surrounded by great crowds of people, as the bells of Ormuz were by crowds of Persians.

The Hebrew word סבו *yisob*, is translated in our version *carried about*, but elsewhere is used to express the *surrounding a thing*;† and it is used, 1 Chron. xiii. 3, to express the *bringing* the ark of God from Kirjath-jea-

* A great officer in the Persian cities.

† So it is used four times just together in the 118th Psalm, to express the compassing the Psalmist about like bees, ver. 10, 11, 12.

rim to the city of David, attended by all Israel, with music and with songs; and after the like manner, I should think, the ark was carried to Gath from Ashdod, as to external appearances, but with this difference, that the compassing it about with music and with songs, by David, expressed the reverence of religion; by the Philistines, as among the Persians, the triumph of victory.

The construction of the Hebrew words will accordingly be more regular, if understood after this manner: *Let Gath compass about the of ark* GOD, *and* they *compassed about the ark of* GOD. *And it came to pass, after* they *had compassed it about, the hand of the* LORD *was also upon the city*, &c. The men of Ashdod were so intimidated, that they did not care to carry away the ark of GOD in triumph to another city, they left it to the lords of the Philistines to appoint some other of their towns to receive it, who directed that the people of Gath should do it, who accordingly went and fetched it away, to their sorrow, or at least met it as a captive in solemn pomp. Its being carried to Ekron from Gath, is expressed in very different terms: *They sent* וישלחו (*va yishalachoo*) *the ark of* GOD *to Ekron, and when the Ekronites saw it, they cried out with fear.*

OBSERVATION LXX.

MANNER OF INTRODUCING A CAPTIVE PRINCE INTO THE TOWNS OF A VICTORIOUS KINGDOM.

THE same celebrated traveller gives such an account, of the manner of introducing a captive prince into the towns of the victorious kingdom, as may serve to illustrate another passage of Scripture.

When della Vallé was at Lar, in Persia, he not only saw two of the bells of a Christian church at Ormuz brought thither in triumph, but the Arab king of Ormuz

himself conducted thither, a few days before, in the same triumphant manner. "This poor unfortunate king," he tells us, "entered Lar, with his people, in the morning, music playing, and girls and women of pleasure singing and dancing before him, according to the custom of Persia, and the people flocking together with a prodigious concourse, and conducting him in a pompous and magnificent manner, particularly with colours displayed, like what the Messenians formerly did to Philopœmen, the general of the Achæans, their prisoner of war, according to the report of Justin. The king of Ormuz appeared at this time with a very melancholy countenance, dressed in a rich Persian habit of gold and silk, with an upper garment on his back, of much the same form with the old fashioned Italian cloaks worn in bad weather, which are very little in use among the Persians, with silk stockings according to our European mode. He went singly on horseback, according to the custom of the great, followed by the principal people of his household, without any mark of his being a prisoner, excepting that he had, on each side, a file of Persian musqueteers to guard him."*

There is certainly a good deal of resemblance, between the manner in which the Messenians treated Philopœmen, and that in which the Persians treated the king of Ormuz above eight score years ago; but I would rather apply the account to the elucidation of a passage of the Prophet Jeremiah, in which he describes the treatment in part, which Zedekiah, the king of Judah, was to experience upon his being made a captive by the Babylonians, which he thus prophetically sets forth, according to our version: *If thou refuse to go forth, this is the word that the* LORD *hath shewed me. And behold, all the women that are left in the king of Judah's house, shall be brought forth to the king of Babylon's princes; and those women shall say, Thy friends have set thee on, and have prevailed*

* Lett. 16, tome 6, p. 32, 33.

against thee : thy feet are sunk in the mire, and they are turned away back. Jeremiah xxxviii. 21, 22.

Now these bitter speeches much better suit the lips of women belonging to the conquering nation, singing before a captive prince, than of his own wives or concubines. If we are to understand them in the sense in which they are commonly understood, those ladies must have had no feeling thus to insult their king, their husband, in the depth of distress : and who had shown such a dread of being insulted by those vulgar Jews, who had fallen away to the Chaldeans, ver. 19, *I am afraid of the Jews that are fallen away to the Chaldeans, lest they deliver me into their hand, and they mock me.*

It may be imagined, that it was a just rebuke upon him, that had been so afraid of the reproaches of some of the rabble of his own nation, as on that account to refuse obedience to the direction of a Prophet of God, that he should be insulted by the women of his own haram; but it is not natural to suppose they should have an opportunity of this kind, after the king had left them in the palace, and they came into the power of the princes of the king of Babylon, their prey, and to do honour to their harams ; and if they had such an opportunity, it is not very likely they should be so unfeeling. But it is perfectly natural to suppose, that the women that sung before Zedekiah, when carrying from town to town, till he was brought to Riblah, where the king of Babylon then resided, might make use of such taunts. That they are *women*, that sing and dance before captive princes, appears from this account of the Arab king of Ormuz ; and the Hebrew word here made use of, shows that those that used these insulting words were females ; but it is not certain that the word הֵנָּה *hennah*, translated *those*, so signifies, (those women shall say,) unless we depend on the certainty of the Hebrew points, since the same letters הִנֵּה *hinneh*, with different points signify *behold*, *Behold, I say,** *the women*

* See 2 Chron. xx. 2, and Noldius on this compound word.

of the king of Judah's house shall be brought forth to the king of Babylon's princes ; and behold women, such as are wont to sing on public occasions, *shall say,* in those processional songs, *the men of thy peace have set thee on,* &c. Nay the same points may be retained under the letters, and the word then may be understood not as a pronoun, but an adverb, and be rendered *here* :* "Behold, I say, thy women shall be given up to the possession and the arms of thine enemies ; and here the women that are wont to sing on public occasions, and to celebrate their praises, shall sing before thee such words as shall pierce thy heart. So in the following verse Zedekiah and his women are supposed to be separated from each other, as in fact they were, the king flying from the city, as far as the plains of Jericho, before he was overtaken, while his women fell immediately into the hands of the princes of Babylon.

OBSERVATION LXXI.

DUST VERY INJURIOUS IN THE EAST, OF THE BITTER WATERS, &c.

SOME part at least of the sea coast, *between* St. John d'Acre and Joppa, is liable to be very much incommoded by clouds of dust, which arise from time to time ; I would recommend it then to the curious to consider, whether some city, or perhaps some district there, may not be what the Prophet Micah calls the house of dust, ch. i. 10. *In the house of Aphrah roll thyself in the dust ;* for we find in the margin, that the house of Aphrah may be translated the *house of dust.*

I would verify the fact, that that coast, or part of that coast, is wont to be incommoded with dust, by two quota-

* So the word is used in this sense, Gen. xxi. 23, and is so translated in our version; and is used again in the sense of *here,* in the 29th verse, according to Noldius.

tions from Vinisauf, who has given us an account of the expedition of our Richard the First, into the Holy Land. In p. 349 he says, "the army passed along near the sea, which was on the right hand, and the Turks observed all our motions from the mountains on the left. Suddenly the air was disturbed by the coming on of a dangerous cloud;" when it seems, the enemy took that advantage, and fell upon the Croisade army. This happened, he tells us, when they came to a strait place.*

He does not tell us, whether this was a cloud of dust, or a thick mist; but it should seem most probably to have been dust: especially when we remark what is said in a succeeding page, "Journeying, they were thrown into great perturbation, by the air's being thickened with dust: as well as by the heat of the season."† This was on the 7th of September.

Can it be any wonder that Micah has described some great town on this coast, or perhaps an extensive district, as the house of dust, and called its inhabitants to roll themselves in the dust in token of anguish of heart?

It is well known that some large towns, in which there were many houses, have been called by a name which expresses one single house, with an epithet adjoined, which marks out some distinguishing property of that town. Thus the native town of David was called Bethlehem, *the house of bread*, on account of the fertility of the corn lands about it; another town was called Bethel, *the house of* GOD, because of a divine appearance there to Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 19. For a similar reason, a town built in that strait, where the dust so terribly incommoded the Croisaders, of the time of Richard the First, might have

* "Exercitus itinerabat juxta mare, quod eis erat à dextris, et gens *Turcorum* à sinistris omnes gestus nostros à montanis prospiciebant. Ingruente subito nebula periculosa turbabatur aer." Hist. Anglicanæ Scrip. quinque, vol. 2, p. 349.

† Obducto nubilo *pulveris* acre æstuabant itinerantes, et insuper fervore temporis," p. 360, or rather 356.

been called *the house of dust ;* or a town built in the place where that army was afterward, on Sept. 7th.

And if a town containing many distinct houses, might be called the *house of bread*, in the singular number, and another the *house of* GOD, I do not see why a whole district might not be called the *house of dust,* as being remarkable for the clouds of dust arising there from time to time, and especially in the language of prophetic story. *Beet* بيت in Arabic means the same thing with *Beth* בית in Hebrew, and we find in Niebuhr's account of Arabia, cities, villages, caravanserais, and even districts, distinguished from others by compound names, of which the first part is *beit.* So he describes *Beit ibn Schamsân,* as two portions of land* belonging to the family of this name, of which the most considerable person is the Nakib Khassen, p. 229.

So in Reland's Palestina,† according to Epiphanius, the Prophet Obadiah was born in Scychem, in the district of Bethachamar, which perhaps signifies the *house of bitumen,* from its being produced in that country.

The *house of dust* in Micah then means, I apprehend, either some principal city on the seacoast between Acco and Joppa, or that part of the seacoast which was remarkable for the clouds of dust, with which it was at times troubled, from which name of description, which the Prophet gave it, founded on a circumstance of its natural history, he takes occasion to call the people there to roll themselves in the dust, which was wont to be done by people in that country when in bitter distress ;‡ just as he had immediately before called the people of Acco not to weep, the vulgar and proper name of that town being near akin in sound, to the Hebrew word בכה *bacah,* which signifies *he weeps,* and the people of Gath not to *declare* or *show forth in songs,* the Hebrew word תגידו *tageedoo,*

* Deux terres appartenantes à la famille de ce nom, &c. † Page 627.

‡ Lam. iii. 16—29 ; where we shall find the marginal translation of the 16th verse is, *he hath rolled me in the ashes.*

for that action being in like manner in sound somewhat resembling *Gath.**

For though our translation supposes one town only is mentioned, in the first part of the 10th verse, namely, Gath, I cannot but accede to the opinion of those that suppose two are intended, Gath and Acco,† or St. John d'Acre, as it has been called in later times. Hadrian Reland appears to be of that opinion,‡ and it seems much the most natural and forcible construction to put on this very imbroiled passage which St. Jerom seems to have despaired of thoroughly explaining. I will not by any means suppose myself capable of doing it, but some illustration may possibly arise from the remarks I would propose under this Observation.

The word we render *declare*, "declare ye not at Gath," for the word *it* is not in the original, seems to answer that celebrating, with singing, the martial prowess, and consequent victories of their people; and sometimes those consolatory songs, that were made use of in times of disappointment, unwilling to forget the courage of some of their heroes, who perished in combating, cheering their hearts with the remembrance of the success of former times, and deriving hope from thence of a revolution in their favour.

Thus Niebuhr tells us, in his account of Arabia,‖ that the Arabs yet sing sometimes the warlike deeds of their shekhs. So, after a victory that the tribe of Chasaël had gained some time before over Ali, the pasha of Bagdad, they presently made a song, in which "they celebrated the exploits of each chief. Fortune having forsaken them the year after, and the Turks having defeated them, there was not wanting a poet of Bagdad to give an opposite description of the Arab shekhs, in exhalting the heroic vir-

* A farfetched analogy indeed! EDIT.

† Or Ptolemais, as it is called in the New Testament.

‡ Palæstina, p. 534.

‖ Page 93.

tues of the pasha, and of his officers. His poem, however, was only a parody of the first. They sung, even in my time, that of the Arabs, not only in the territory of the tribe of Chasaël, but at Bagdad."

Here we see the genius of the Eastern people leads them to compose verses on public occasions; and when fortune changes, they are not always forgotten, but still continue to be sung; and even sometimes in the territories of their enemies.

In the second volume of his travels, Niebuhr in like manner describes the Arabs of Mesopotamia, as singing the valour of one of their shekhs who was taken by the Turks, and his head cut off, after vaunting of the nobility of his extraction to the Turkish officer, and sent to Constantinople. This prince was, we are told, the brother of the then reigning shekh.*

In another place of the same volume he tells us, that an Arab tribe so thoroughly defeated a pasha of Bagdad; that the Arab poets made a song upon this victory, which became so common as to be heard in Bagdad itself.† He speaks of it also in a preceding page.‡

Now that the word, תגידו *taggeedoo*, translated here *declare*, is used for setting things forth in solemn commemorative speeches, and in songs, appears from several passages of Scripture. Exod xiii. 8, and Deut. xxvi. 3, may be brought as proofs of the first assertion; and Ps. li. 14, 15, of the second: *Deliver me from blood guiltiness, O* God, *thou* God *of my salvation; and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness. O* Lord, *open thou my lips, and my mouth* יגיד yageed *shall show forth thy praise.* So Is. xlviii. 20.

But above all other places, the 2 Sam. i. 20, ought to be introduced here. *Tell it not* אל תגידו al taggeedoo, *in*

* Voy. tom. 2, p. 199, 200. † Page 260.

‡ Page 257. There he tells us, that the Arabs made funeral songs on the death of Soleiman Pasha, which were still, at the time he was there, often heard in the coffee houses and streets of Bagdad.

Gath, publish it *not in the streets of Ashkelon; lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.* The word *it* here too is not in the original, but added by our translators; however, it evidently appears, that the Hebrew poet is speaking of songs that he supposed the Philistines would be ready to compose, on occasion of the death of Saul, which was such a matter of triumph to them, and to sing in the public places of Gath, and in the streets of Ashkelon.

The turn of this passage in 2 Samuel, may have unfortunately led many people, to misunderstand the spirit and intention of this clause in Micah. Because triumph is evidently supposed in Samuel, and the words just the same, they have been ready to suppose the declaratory songs at Gath, to which Micah refers, must be of the same kind, and that therefore, the Prophet is to be considered as dehorting them from triumphing over Israel and Judah, since affliction was not far off themselves. But the words may be understood, I think, and more naturally, in a somewhat different view, not as triumphing over Israel and Judah, then not their enemies; but the want of apprehension from the Assyrians as to themselves, and denoting a careless state, agreeable to the description given of the people of Laish, *who dwelt careless, after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure,** and united perhaps in the case of Gath, with a vain recollection of their former successes, celebrating their dead heroes, and intermingling perhaps the praises of some of their countrymen that were alive, who had done great exploits, according to the practice of modern Arabs. Instead of this, the Prophet says to Gath, Lay aside your songs of pleasing commemoration of past times, and those that are expressive of present consolation, derived from the great qualties of some of your fellow citizens: the silence of apprehension better becomes you.

* Judges xviii. 7.

From Gath he turns to Acco, and alluding to its name, he bids that city not to weep, the Hebrew word בכה *bacah*, signifying *he weeps*, resembling in sound Acco: a figure of speech formerly much in use, and greatly admired.

This, however, most certainly is to be explained in a manner consistent with what is said to the other cities and districts of that country; for I can by no means suppose, that Acco was to be exempted from having a share in the afflictions that were coming on the other cities of the sea coast, and the adjoining country. Now if that be supposed to be determined, its not weeping must be understood in a sense consistent with their feeling bitter sorrow.

Accordingly we may observe, that when Ziklag was taken by the Amalekites, *David and the people that were with him lift up their voice, and wept until they had no more power to weep. And David was greatly distressed: for the people spake of stoning him, because the soul of all the people was grieved*, or bitter, *every man for his sons, and for his daughters*, 1 Sam. xxx. 4, 6. Here was great anguish of soul without weeping; nay, it was its extreme bitterness that stopped their tears. In like manner, when Ezekiel was a sign to Israel, and was to represent to them, by what he did, the extreme distress they should feel from the Chaldeans, the word of the LORD came unto him, saying, *Son of man, behold, I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke: yet neither shalt thou mourn nor weep, neither shall thy tears run down;* for says he, *the desire of your eyes, and that which your soul pitieth, and your sons and your daughters whom ye have left, shall fall by the sword. And ye shall do as I have done: . . . . ye shall not mourn nor weep, but ye shall pine away for your iniquities, and mourn one toward another*, or secretly. Ezekiel xxiv. 16, 21, 22, 23. In some such sense, I apprehend, we are to understand the clause concerning Acco. O Gath, lay aside singing the praises of thy heroes! Acco,

let excess of grief and terror put a stop to tears! Thou country between Gath and Acco, thou house of dust, roll thyself in the dust through bitterness of heart!

We may go on, I think, and, conformably to the explanation I have been giving of the house of dust, understand the inhabitant, or, according to the margin, *the inhabitress of Saphir*, יושבת שפיר *yoshebet shapheer*, of the people of the country lying on the more southern part of the sea coast, as those of the house of dust mean those to the north of it. For that country is represented by modern travellers as extremely pleasant, and the margin of our translation tells us, the inhabitress of Saphir means, *thou that dwellest fairly*, or *hast a good heritage*, according to our version of the 16th Psalm, ver. 6, *The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage.*

Where the house of dust ends, and the more delightful country may be supposed to begin, I shall not attempt to determine with precision; but would transcribe a passage from Signior Lusignan's account of Palestine, at the close of his History of the Revolt of Ali Bey. "About a mile and an half before you come to Joppa,* you cross a small rivulet, which is the only† running water in all this fertile country; you then descend a hill, and get into a road, which is covered on each side with orange and lemon trees."‡ He describes the road from Joppa to Rama, whose present state, he tells us, is very deplorable, but its situation however very pleasant;‖ I say, he describes that road as "very smooth and pleasant; the fields on each side abound with several sorts of flowers, and are planted with olive groves, and in some parts with cassia and senna trees, and other aromatic plants.§ The road from Joppa or Rama to Azotus,¶ which is called by the

* He means from the northward.

† No wonder the country before they came to this water, might be denominated the house of dust.

‡ Page 185. ‖ Page 190. § Page 189. ¶ Or Ashdod.

Arabs *Hasaneyun*, "is pretty much of the same kind as that from Joppa to Rama and Lidda, except in some part of the country, where there are no large trees."* As to Azotus, he says, "the town is but thinly inhabited, though the situation is very pleasant."† From Azotus to Gaza are twelve miles more: "the fields on each side of the road, as in the others, are planted with olive, and some palm trees."‡ The Baron de Tott travelled very little in the Holy Land, only from Joppa or Jaffi, as he calls it, to Rames, by which we are to understand Rama; nevertheless the description he gives of this part of the country shows its pleasantness. "The space between the sea and the mountains is a flat country, about six leagues in breadth, extremely fertile. The fig tree of India supplies it with hedges, and furnishes impenetrable barriers, which secure the fields of the different proprietors. Cotton is here the principal branch of commerce, and the industry of the inhabitants employs itself in spinning. This part of the Holy Land is very remarkable for the remains of the Crusades, with which it is covered."‖

To this delightful situation the Prophet Micah opposes the wretchedness of the state of this people, when carried away into captivity: *Pass ye away, thou inhabitant of a very pleasant country, not naked, but clothed with trees, and highly ornamented with flowers; being almost quite uncovered to thy dishonor, yea, having your shame naked, and exposed to the mocking eyes of your enemies.*§

If the inhabitant of Saphir, or the goodly country, means the people that dwelt near Joppa, and onwards to the southward on that coast; and צאנן *tsaanan* is truly translated in the margin of our version the *country of*

* Page 197. † Page 199. ‡ Page 200.

‖ Memoirs, tome 4, p. 93. Lady M. W. Montague confirms this, telling us, "this plant grows a great height, very thick, and the spikes or thorns are as long and sharp as bodkins." Vol. 3, p. 73.

§ Of this very indecent treatment of captives anciently, we read in several places of Scripture. Is. xlvii. 3, ch. xx. 4, &c.

flocks, the accounts of modern travellers will lead us to suppose Gaza and its environs is the country that is meant.

For Thevenot, in going from Egypt to Jerusalem, tells us, that having spent some days in the desert, on the 5th of April they came to a place, where, says he, "we began to see a very pleasant country, and some corn land: some time after we found a sibil of bitter water, which is close by Cauniones, where we arrived about three in the afternoon: they have so many marble pillars there also, that their coffee houses stand all upon such. There we began to see abundance of trees, and a great deal of good meadow ground; and, indeed, both the cattle and inhabitants of that place, from the biggest to the least, are extremely fat. There is a very fair castle there, with a large open place in it. The Turks lodge in the castle, where there is a saka of very good water, and the Moors and Felas live in the houses without. Cauniones is in Egypt, which here ends."

"We parted from Cauniones on Saturday the 6th of April, before five in the morning, guarded by seven or eight Turks of the place, who went with us to Gaza, for fear of the Arabs. About six o'clock we found a sibil of bitter water, and about seven another better; a little after, we discovered the town of Gaza: half an hour after eight we found a bridge, under which runs the water of the meadows, which are very spacious, and at the end of that bridge there is a well of good water; the country abounds in fair cattle, and all sorts of fruit trees: about an hour after we found two sibils not far distant from one another; and about half an hour after ten, we arrived at Gaza, where we encamped near the castle, in a little burying place walled about."*

It is not a little remarkable, that this celebrated traveller should be so struck with the meadows, the extent of them, and the goodness of the cattle in the neighbour-

* Trav. part 1, 2, ch. 35.

hood of Gaza, expressly remarking, that some part of this country, so suited to the feeding of cattle, belonged to Egypt. Isaiah, who lived and prophesied in the same time with Micah, speaks of the king of Assyria's sending Tartan against Ashdod, who fought against it and took it; and in the same chapter he speaks of the king of Assyria's leading away Egyptians and Ethiopians, or Arabians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot, even with their buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt.*

Thevenot is not the only writer that describes the country about Gaza as proper for feeding of cattle; de Tott plainly intimates the same, when, describing the present commerce of Jaff, or Joppa, he says, it only consists of linen and rice, sent from Damietta for the consumption of Napooloosé, Rames, Jerusalem, and numerous hordes of Arabs, who encamp in the plains of Gaza. Damietta receives in exchange, glass ware fabricated at Ebron, raw cottons, cummin, and especially, soap of Jaff."†

The plains of Gaza must be proper for the feeding of cattle, since numerous hordes of Arabs are described as dwelling there, whose great, and almost sole employment, is breeding and tending cattle.

It should seem, from the 20th of Isaiah, that those Egyptians that the Assyrians carried away captive, came not to the assistance of Ashdod, and suffered for their neglect some little time after. Is not this the sense, in general, of those words of Micah, *The inhabitant of the country of flocks came not forth in the mourning of Bethezel*, the place near, says the margin of our Bibles, or, we may say, of the neighbouring district, a just description of Ashdod and its dependencies, *he shall receive of you his standing?* though it is not easy perfectly to make out the explanation; and perhaps in the word מכם *mikkem*, translated *of you*, there is a corruption.‡

* Chap. xx. † Mem. tome 4, p. 94.

‡ For it does not appear of any consequence here, for the Prophet to point out the persons from whom they were to receive the reward of their

Marah, every body knows, who has read the 15th of Exodus, was a name given to a place in the desert of Arabia, on the account of the *bitterness* of the water there. *And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter; therefore the name of it was called Marah;* that is, says the margin, *bitterness*, v. 23. As Marah signifies bitterness, Maroth, which is its plural, must signify the country

neglect; and if it were of consequence, the pronoun here made use of, seems to be hardly admissible, since Micah appears to be speaking, not of petty wars, and the taking revenge upon one another, common enough among the Arab clans and little Eastern principalities, but of the ravages of some mighty conqueror enveloping them all in one general calamity. The Bishop of Waterford, in his translation, introduces the word *reward* here as necessary to make the same complete: "He shall receive of you *the reward* of his station against you." If instead of מכם (*mikkem*) from you, we read מכר (*mecher*) which is only the change of one letter in the Hebrew, then the translation will be, "He shall receive the *price* (the *reward*) of his station." The unnecessary pronoun will disappear, and the word reward will be found, not as a supplemental word, but in the original text. Further, it does not appear to me, that the supplemental words *against you*, which are not in our version, should have been introduced by this very respectable prelate; for I should think it is rather to be understood of *neglect*, tending his flocks when he should have been helping them, than of encamping as an open enemy against the house of his neighbour. In short, I apprehend, the word here used represents him as acting just as Reuben did in the time of Deborah and Barak, when Zebulun and Naphtali, two other tribes, were jeopardying "their lives in the high places of the field." There was a neglect, not engaging in war against them. The verb עמד *amad*, from which the word עמדתו *amadato*, translated *station* is derived, is not unfrequently applied to the business of shepherds: so Isaiah lxi. 5, "Strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and the sons of the alien shall be your plowmen, and your vine dressers;" so in Micah himself, ch. v. 4, "And he shall stand and feed in the strength of the LORD." The standing then of Tsaanan is not to be understood in a warlike sense, but a pastoral one: which perfectly suits the description of this part of the country lying about Gaza, but inhabited by Egyptians. As more anciently, Dan, was complained of for remaining in his ships, and Asher for continuing on the sea shore, Judges v. 17, they being maritime tribes, and Reuben, a tribe of shepherds, for abiding among the sheepfolds, to hear the bleatings of the flocks, verse 16, and not coming to help the other tribes of Israel; so Tsaanan is complained of for abiding in their *shepherd's stations*, instead of helping their neighbours in their afflictions. This appears to me a *probable* explanation: it lays claim to nothing further.

that had many places of bitter water, which is a just and lively description of that part of Arabia.

The pits of Moses, we are told by Niebuhr, in his description of Arabia, are two German leagues to the southward of Suez, which is at the end of the Red Sea, bearing somewhat to the east. They find water there in many places upon digging a foot in depth; but the Arabs say, that of the five pits that are found there, one pit only affords water that is drinkable. He adds, "it may be, the Marah mentioned in the 15th of Exodus is to be sought for here," page 348. Whether it be, or be not the exact place, it might certainly have been called Marah on the account of the bitter water there, and even Maroth, in the plural, as there are no fewer than four of these pits of bad water.

But these are not the only places of bitter water in this country: for Egmont and Heyman say, speaking of a place called Pharaoh's baths, which, according to Niebuhr's map of the country between Suez and Mount Sinai, is considerably further to the south, "the water seems to boil as it issues from the ground, and afterward forms little rivulets, in which, where the heat is not too violent, many bathe themselves: no crystal is clearer than this water; but it is so saturated with saline and sulphureous particles, that the taste is extremely disagreeable."* This place, which Wortley Montague supposed was the Marah of the Scriptures, but which is ten German leagues further to the south, or about forty English miles, according to Niebuhr's map, from the place Niebuhr supposed to be Marah, is thus described by Mr. Montague:† "These waters at the spring are somewhat bitter and brackish; but as every foot they run over the sand is covered with bituminous salts, grown up by the excessive heat of the sun, they acquire much saltness and bitterness, and very soon become not potable."‡

* Vol. 2, p. 185. † Philosophical Transactions, vol. 66, p. 53.
‡ Trav. part 1, book 2, ch. 26.

Egmont and Heyman speak of these waters only as saline and sulphureous, but Mr. Montague expressly describes them as bitter.

About sixteen German leagues further, according to that map, is Tor, a well known port in the Red Sea. Not far from it, according to Thevenot, are many wells of bitter water. It seems odd, that he should suppose this place to be the Elim of the Scripture, but the fact I suppose we may depend upon, that there are several wells of bitter water in that place. He says, they are all hot, and are returned again to their bitterness, for he tasted of one of them, where people bathe themselves, which, by the Arabs, is called *Hamam Mousa*, that is to say, the bath of Moses.

If we should suppose this last place rather too far off, I would remark, that Dr. Shaw tells us, that at Adjeroute, which is nearer the land of the Philistines than any of the places I have been mentioning, and is one of the first stations of the Mohammedan pilgrims from Egypt, the water is bitter.*

Such being the nature of this part of the country; remarkable for many places of bitter water, it may well be understood to have been called by the Prophet Maroth. And as the Midianitish wife of Moses, is called an Ethiopian woman, who came from the neighbourhood, we may easily perceive who were the Ethiopians, that, according to the 20th of Isaiah, were to be led away captive with the Egyptians, by the Assyrians, about the time that Ashdod was taken by them.

Nor is there any difficulty here of making out the connection, between the occasional name of description the Prophet gives this country, and what is said to have happened to it: The inhabitants of Maroth, the country of bitter waters, waited carefully for good, but, (the bitterness of) evil came down from the LORD unto the gate of Jerusalem, and threatened their speedy ruin.

* Page 477.

I will only add one remark more, if it should be objected, that this explanation supposes, that some towns or countries are called by their common names, and that others have invented names of description given them, which seems very strange, I would beg leave to refer such readers to the xxvth of Jeremiah, where, after many princes are named by their proper titles, at least, the king of Babylon appears to be spoken of, under the cabalistical denomination of the king of Sheshach. This is generally, I think, understood to be the meaning of the Prophet, and the 12th verse of that chapter seems to prove it. In like manner we find a country pointed out by a poetic description, and another in the same verse mentioned by its direct and common name, in the 18th of Isaiah : *Woe to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia.**

The last is incontestible : why then may we not suppose Micah mingled things together in the same manner, in the paragraph I have been considering ?

OBSERVATION LXXII.

OF THE TIME OF THE YEAR, IN WHICH THEY USUALLY BEGAN THEIR CAMPAIGNS IN THE EAST.

The sacred text in 2 Sam. xi. 1, seems to suppose, there was one particular time of the year to which the operations of war were limited. This however was not observed in that country in the time of the Croisades, as we may assuredly collect from the writers of those times, and as may be learnt from the following table : for there being no index to the Gesta Dei per Francos, I have taken the pains to mark down the times when such and such military exploits were performed, that William of Tyre and the other Croisade writers have particularly mention-

* Verse 1.

ed, so far as I have observed them; by which it appears, that the princes of the East and the West in those wars confined themselves to no particular time.

We meet however with traces of these limitations elsewhere: so Sir John Chardin, speaking of the Pasha of Basra, who endeavoured in his time to erect himself into an independent sovereign, tells us,* that "perceiving in the spring, that the Turkish armies were prepared to thunder upon him the next September or October, for the heat of those climates will not permit them to take the field sooner, he sent beforehand to offer his territory to the king of Persia."† The contrary however obtained in the Croisade wars, of which the proofs follow.

THE TABLE.

JANUARY. ALL the forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem assembled together in this month, and a long and severe fight ensued between Baldwin II. and the king of Damascus, near the last mentioned city, on the 28th day of it. Gesta Dei, p. 343, 344.

Assembled again, and began the siege of Ascalon, p. 923.

All the forces of this kingdom of Jerusalem, as well horse as foot, assembled again in the time of king Amalric, and set out on the 30th for Egypt, p. 963.

FEBRUARY. Baldwin I. having assembled all his troops, began the siege of Berytus in this month, and continued it to the 27th of April, when he took it, p. 303, 304.

Siege of Tyre began by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, February the fifteenth, p. 330, which held till July, when Tyre was surrendered, p. 439.

* In his MS. which I have frequently cited, he supposes April was the time kings were wont to go out to war. His words, in a note on 2 Sam. xi. 1, are "Roys et armées ne sortent que quand il y a de l'herbe á la campagne pour les bestes, et qu'on peut camper, c'est à dire en Avril." That is, kings and armies do not march but when there is grass, and when they can encamp, which time is April. Different countries may find different seasons most convenient for marching; but it seems religious animosity made them do what national complaints would not.

† Chron. of Solyman III. p. 146.

MARCH. Turks set out for the country about Jordan in March, which they harrassed for three months, p. 372.

Rapfanea besieged eighteen days together, by the Count of Tripoli and Baldwin II. of Jerusalem, and taken the last day of this month, p. 845.

APRIL. The united forces of the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Damascus came before Paneas the first of May, having been assembled to oppose the Turkish prince of Aleppo, who entering the kingdom of Damascus, came as far as a place called Rasaline, and continued some time with his army there, till, finding the forces of these two kingdoms were united together against him, he drew off; after which, they sat down before Paneas: the movements consequently that preceded the siege of Paneas must have been in April, p. 876, 877.

MAY. Fight between Baldwin I. and a great Egyptian army, not far from Ascalon, in the middle of May, p. 413. Another fight between an Egyptian army and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, near Ascalon, in this month, p. 432.

In consequence of a general meeting at Acco, all the troops of the kingdom of Jerusalem were assembled at Tiberias the twentyfith of May, from whence they marched against Damascus, and after some time returned unsuccessful, p. 910—914.

JUNE. Baldwin I. set out for the relief of Edessa, besieged by the Turks, p. 362; and again for the relief of a place near Mount Tabor, in the end of June, p. 372.

Baldwin III. after having raised the siege of Paneas, fell into an ambush, and had his army routed with great slaughter, the 19th of June, p. 941.

JULY. A successful expedition of Godfrey king of Jerusalem, against some Arabs in this month, p. 775.

Baldwin II. crossed Jordan with his army against the king of Damascus, and some Arabs allied with him, p. 430.

A battle between Baldwin III. and Noradine, on the fifteenth day of it, p. 946.

And in the reign of Amalric, Saladine came against him with a great army out of Egypt in July, whither he returned the end of the following September, p. 993.

AUGUST. Baldwin II. gained a great victory over a powerful Turk, the king of Damascus and the prince of the Arabs, on the fourteenth of August, p. 123.

Noradine gained a great victory over the Christian prince of Antioch, &c. on the tenth of this month, p. 960, 961,

Baldwin IV. assembled his troops on the first of this month, and marched into the territories of the kingdom of Damascus, p. 1003.

The beginning of this month Saladine besieged Berytus, and his Egyptian troops besieged a place in the southern border of the kingdom of Jerusalem, p. 1029.

SEPTEMBER. Great fight between Baldwin I. and the Egyptians on the 8th of September, p. 313.

Amalric assembled a great army against Egypt, and on the first of September went down thither, p. 958.

OCTOBER. The same prince, having assembled his forces, set out again for Egypt about the middle of October, and besieging Pelusium, took it the third of November, p. 978.

NOVEMBER. Baldwin I. set out from Jerusalem to besiege Tyre, on the eve of St. Andrew, November 29, p. 370.

Baldwin IV. gave Saladine a great overthrow on the twentyfifth of this month, not far from Ascalon, p. 1010.

DECEMBER. Baruth besieged by Baldwin I. in December, p. 362.

Baldwin II. marched with a view to take Damascus, but soon after his arrival in its neighbourhood, he was obliged to return home by the violence of the rains, which fell about the sixth of December, p. 849.

Saladine having assembled his Egyptian forces, and those of the kingdom of Damascus, attacked a place belonging to the king of Jerusalem in this month, against

whom Amalric marched from Ascalon on the eighteenth of December, p. 936.

An expedition undertaken in December, 1182, under the conduct of the Count of Tripoli, for which they prepared provisions and forage for fifteen days; and on the fifteenth of this month the king of Jerusalem himself set out against Damascus, and ravaged the country about it, p. 1033.

. . . . .

We meet then, in these historians, with expeditions or battles in every month of the year. There is, however, one story which the Archbishop of Tyre tells us, that seems to confirm Sir John Chardin's account, and to show, that though the active and superstitious zeal of those times might not regard it, the summer was no proper time for war in those countries; and that is where he tells us, that in a battle fought between Baldwin IV. and Saladine in Galilee, as many perished in both armies by the violence of the heat, as by the sword.* But I must add, that it is observed by the historian, that the violence of the heat, which proved so deadly to the soldiers of Baldwin and Saladine, was much greater than usual.

OBSERVATION LXXIII.

FURTHER PARTICULARS ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

The account of that expedition of Baldwin II. in December, mentioned under that month in the preceding article, when given more at large, is this. That Baldwin, with other princes, marching to Damascus, fully resolved to take it by surrender or storm, met with a check in foraging, which enraged the army so much, that they immediately flew to their arms, to chastise the affront without more delay: "when suddenly God, against whose will

* Gesta Dei, p. 1028.

men can do nothing, sent such violent showers, such darkness in the sky, such difficulty in the roads, by means of the vast quantities of water in them, that scarce any one could hope for life. Which the darkness of the air, and thickness of the clouds, the irregular blowing of the winds, also the thunders and continual lightnings, signified before hand. But as the human mind is ignorant of futurity, they did not attend to the Divine patience calling to desist, but, on the contrary, strove to proceed in an impossible attempt." The intemperateness of the weather however obliged them, this author observes, to desist; and made them, who had been at first such a terror to their enemies that they had no hopes of escaping, look upon it as a particular providence to be able to get back again.*

I cite this long account from William of Tyre, because it may be considered as a comment on 1 Sam. vii. 10, 11, *The Philistines drew near to the battle against Israel: but the* LORD *thundered with a great thunder on that day upon the Philistines, and discomfited them, and they were smitten before Israel; and the men of Israel went out of Mizpeh, and pursued the Philistines, and smote them until*, &c. In this however they differed, that the people of Damascus did not improve the advantage with the vigour that Israel did.

OBSERVATION LXXIV.

HAIL AND RAIN DREADFUL IN THE EAST.

HAD hail been mingled with the rain, Baldwin's army would have been in a still more dangerous situation: such hail as that Albertus Aquensis describes, which fell when Baldwin I. was with his army in the mountains of Arabia, beyond the Dead Sea; at the top of which, he tells us,

* Gesta Dei, &c. p. 849.

they had to encounter with the greatest dangers, from a horrible hail, terrible ice, unheard of rain and snow, which were such, that thirty of the foot died with cold.*

Something of this kind, I presume, the Canaanites suffered in their flight from Joshua, in a mountainous part of Judea, Joshua x. 11. But it must have been much more destructive to people that were fleeing before their enemies, than to those Albertus mentions; as they doubtless had thrown away their clothes in part for the sake of expedition,† dared not to stop for shelter, and were running along in a mountainous place, among precipices.‡

OBSERVATION LXXV.

CURIOUS ILLUSTRATION OF 2 KINGS vii. 15.

SALADINE'S army, which was defeated by Baldwin IV. near Gaza, suffered in like manner in their flight by rain and cold; but I mention it not to illustrate either Joshua x. 11, or 1 Sam. vii. 10, 11, but on the account of its being a picture in other respects of the flight of the Syrians, mentioned 2 Kings vii. 15. *And they went after them unto Jordan, and lo, all the way was full of garments and vessels, which the Syrians had cast away in their haste.*

Saladine's army, in like manner, being vigorously pursued till night came on, and as far as a certain standing water, surrounded with reeds, twelve miles off, were continually cut off in great numbers. To fly therefore with great expedition, they threw away their arms and clothes,

* Gesta Dei, &c. p. 307. † See 2 Kings vii. 15.

‡ The danger of which is sufficiently seen, in the account William of Tyre has given of the flight of some Turks that came to take Jerusalem, but were received by the inhabitants with such gallantry, that fleeing from them, along the mountainous road that leads from that city to Jordan, many of them fell headlong down the precipices, and miserably perished. Gesta Dei, &c. p. 922, 923.

and abandoned their baggage, and by this means some of those that were strongest and had swift horses,* escaped; the rest were killed or taken. Those that escaped as far as the abovementioned fenny place, if they had any thing of weight still remaining, such as coats of mail, or greaves of iron, threw them among the reeds, or still further into the water itself, that they might move quicker, and that the armour, being concealed in the water, might neither be of any afterservice to the Christians, nor be kept by them as trophies of their victory. But in vain: for those that closely pursued them, diligently searched that place, that night and the following day, and with proper instruments quickly found what they had concealed in it; "and we have been informed," says the historian, "by people of credit, who were eye witnesses, that an hundred coats of mail were drawn out of that place in one day, besides iron boots, and things which, though of less weight, were both useful and valuable." He then mentions how miserably these naked fugitives were harrassed with incessant rains, and unusual cold weather, which began the next day, and continued ten days together.†

The Syrians, struck with a panic, left many of their garments in like manner in the road to Jordan, and of their vessels, or arms, as I suppose the word כלים *keleem* means, as Saladine's army did, for the original word in

* D' Arvieux tells us, "the Arabs generally ride *mares*, as more proper for their purpose; experience having taught them, that they can better endure fatigue, hunger, and thirst, than male animals of that species; they are also more gentle, less vicious, and produce annually a foal." He adds, "that their mares never neigh, and are therefore more proper for their lying in ambush." Voy. dans la Palestine, chap. 11. The translators of the Septuagint seem to have had the same notion, translating that word which our version renders *stalls*, by a term which signifies *females*. 1 Kings iv. 26, 2 Chron. ix. 25. It does not appear that their translation is just; but it plainly marks out, that they supposed Solomon's cavalry was like the modern Arab cavalry, of the female gender. An observation which may not, perhaps, be displeasing to some of my readers, as the Septuagint translation might otherwise appear a very strange one.

† Gesta Dei, p. 1010.

the book of Kings is known to signify arms as well as vessels, and the rest perhaps were thrown into the river.

The horses and asses that were left in the camp, according to the seventh verse, were doubtless the beasts of burden, used by them for the carriage of their tents and provisions, which their terror made them leave behind; and as the troops of the Syrians seem to have been horse, see 2 Kings vi. 15, it is no wonder they made no use of their heavier moving animals in their flight, but left them.

OBSERVATION LXXVI.

A SWORD HANGING AT THE NECK, A TOKEN OF HUMILIATION AND SUBJECTION.

This flight of the Syrians puts us in mind of another flight of theirs, related in the 1 Kings, in the account of which a circumstance is mentioned that engages attention: *And his servants said unto him,* (Benhadad) *Behold now we have heard that the kings of the house of Israel are merciful kings: let us, I pray thee, put sackcloth on our loins, and ropes upon our heads, and go out to the king of Israel; peradventure he will save thy life. So they girded sackcloth on their loins, and put ropes on their heads, and came to the king of Israel.* *

The approaching persons with a sword hanging to the neck is, in the East, thought to be a very humble and submissive coming before them. So William of Tyre, describing the great solemnity and humiliation with which the governor of Egypt, under the khaliph of that country, appeared before his master, tells us, he prostrated himself on the ground thrice, with his sword hanging to his neck, which at the third prostration he took off and laid down.†

* 1 Kings xx. 31, 32.

† Gesta Dei, p. 965.

And, what is more to the purpose. Thevenot has mentioned this circumstance, in the account he has given of the taking of Bagdat by the Turks, in one thousand six hundred and thirty eight, drawn from a letter, written by a person of distinction in the Turkish army to one of the Sangiacks of Egypt; for, upon the begging for quarter by the besieged, he that was the lieutenant and the principal officer of the governor of Bagdat, we are told, went to the Grand Visier with a scarf about his neck, and his sword wreathed in it; which is, he says, an ignominious mark of submission, and begged, both in his own and master's name, *Aman*, that is to say, pardon and mercy; and having obtained it, the governor came, and was introduced to the Grand Seignior, and obtained not only a confirmation of the promise of life that had been made him, but divers presents too of value.*

Thevenot supposed the hanging the sword about the neck was an ignominious mark of submission; but its being used by the governor of Egypt, when he appeared before his master shows, that though it was an expression of humiliation and perfect submission, it was not an ignominious one; but a token it undoubtedly was of such respect, as was thought proper for the conquered to pay the victor when they begged their lives; and as such was used, I suppose, by Benhadad; for those ropes about the necks of his servants were, I should imagine, what they suspended their swords with, if the customs of later times may be thought to be explanatory of those of elder days, as in the East they often are.

* Part I, p. 289.

OBSERVATION LXXVII.

CURIOUS ILLUSTRATION OF 1 KINGS XX. 34.

BENHADAD was received to mercy, and treated with respect; and upon this occasion promised to restore to the kingdom of Israel, the cities his father had taken from it, *And thou shalt make*, said he to Ahab, *streets for thee in Damascus, as my father made in Samaria.* 1 Kings XX. 34.

This was a proposal better relished by Ahab, than understood by commentators. Bishop Patrick tells us, some suppose the word חצות *chutsoth*, signifies *market places*, where things were sold, the toll of which should belong to Ahab; others think, he meant courts of judicature, where he should exercise a jurisdiction over the Syrians; others what we now call a piazza,* of which he should receive the rents; but commonly, he says, interpreters understand by the word fortifications, or citadels, as we now speak; none of which suppositions however, pleased Gotf. Vallandus, who attempts to prove that *palaces* are meant, the building of which by Ahab being a token of subjection in Benhadad.

Perhaps the privileges which we know were actually granted to the Venetians for their aid, by the states of the kingdom of Jerusalem in the time of the captivity of Baldwin II. may more satisfactorily explain these words of Benhadad. William of Tyre, the greatest historian of the Croisades, has preserved that ancient instrument,† which the curious reader may consult, and in which he

* Or rather what is called by Rauwolff a *fondique camp, carvatschara*, or *caravanserie*, p. 24, 30, and by others a *kane*; that is a great house, built like a cloister round a great courtyard, and full of warehouses and apartments, in which foreign merchants are wont to live, or travellers to repair, as to an inn.

† Gesta Dei, p. 830, 831.

will find ample room for the exercise of the talents of an antiquary. It will be sufficient here to observe, that it appears from that convention, as well as from the accounts that he has elsewhere given of the privileges granted to other nations for their assistance, that they were wont to assign *churches*, and to give *streets*, in their towns and cities, to those foreign nations, together with great liberties and jurisdiction in these streets. Thus that historian tells us, that the Genoese had a street in Accon, or St. John d'Acre, together with full jurisdiction in it, and a church, as a reward for taking that city,* together with a third part of the dues of the port. So the above mentioned ancient instrument very clearly shows that the Venetians had a street also in Accon; and explains what this full jurisdiction in a street means, by giving them liberty to have in their street there an oven, mill, bagnio,† weights and measures for wine, oil, and honey, if they thought fit, and also to judge causes among themselves, together with as great a jurisdiction over all those that dwelt in their street and houses, of whatever nation they might be, as the king of Jerusalem had over others.

May we not believe, that the same, or nearly the same franchises and regalities that were granted the Venetians and Genoese, to obtain aid from them, the father of Ahab had granted to Benhadad's father to obtain peace, and which Benhadad, upon this fatal turn of his affairs, proposed to grant to Ahab in Damascus; a quarter for his subjects to live in, and which he should possess, and enjoy the same jurisdiction over, as he did the rest of his kingdom. Such a power in Samaria, and such a making over a part of it to him, in annexing it to the kingdom of

* Page 791.

† The privilege of having a bagnio of their own, is explained by something mentioned p. 878; as is that of having weights and measures, by a paragraph in p. 124; it appearing that the bagnios paid certain duties to the Eastern princes of those times, who also received some of their dues from weights and measures.

Syria, with a right of building such idol temples as he thought fit, was a sufficient disgrace to the father of Ahab; and the proposing to give Ahab now a like honor in Damascus, an expression of a very abject adulation in Benhadad. As the things that commentators have mentioned, are either not of importance enough to answer the general representations of matters in the history; or absolutely destructive; a medium is to be sought for.

OBSERVATION LXXVIII.

BARBAROUS CUSTOMS USED BY VICTORS AGAINST THE DEAD BODIES OF THEIR ENEMIES.

As the Indians of North America are not content with killing their enemies, but produce their *scalps* as proofs of the number they have destroyed; it will not be thought strange, I presume, *that something of the like kind* obtained *anciently* in Asia too, but it is surprising to find some traces of it still there.

These ocular proofs of their success in war are agreeable enough to unpolished times: such was the age of Saul, when he required some unequivocal marks of David's having destroyed an hundred Philistines, or at least heathens, and that they should be brought before him, 1 Sam. xviii. 25, 27. But it is somewhat astonishing to find something of the like sort lately practised in so polite a country as Persia; yet the MS. C. assures us, that in the war of the Persians against the Yuzbecs, the Persians took the beards of their enemies, and carried them to the king. Strange custom to be retained!

OBSERVATION LXXIX.

PARTICULAR PLACES USED FOR PRAYER PREVIOUS TO BATTLE.

APPREHENSIVE of these fatal turns in war, they were wont anciently to perform very solemn devotions before they went out to battle, and at particular places. So it is said that the Israelites, in the time of Judas the Maccabee, assembled themselves to Maspha, over against Jerusalem; for that in Maspha was the place where they prayed aforetime in Israel, 1 Macc. iii. 46.

The desolation of the Temple, and the Gentiles being in possession of a strong place adjoining to it, might induce Judas to assemble the people at some other place: the fortyfifth verse seems to assign these reasons for it: but that Maspha should be chosen as a place where they before prayed in Israel on such public occasions, is strange, as it does not appear that either the Tabernacle or the Ark was ever placed there, in the times preceding the building of the Temple at Jerusalem.

Nevertheless, the Apocryphal writer seems to be justified in what he says, by Judges xx. 1, and 1 Sam. vii. 5—7, supposing Maspha means the same place with Mizpeh, of which no one doubts. For the first passage teaches us that Israel assembled before the LORD at Mizpeh, at a time when the Ark was at Bethel, according to the twenty-seventh verse of that chapter; and by the second it appears that Samuel convened the people at Mizpeh, in order to prepare them by solemn devotions for war with the Philistines, and the Philistines understood a meeting of Israel to be introductory to war, and by the first verse of that chapter it appears, that the Ark was at that time at Kirjath-Jearim. As for the Tabernacle, it is not supposed to have ever been at Mizpeh.

I confess this has often perplexed me. A passage I met with in the first volume of Pococke's Travels into the East,* recalled this difficulty to my mind, with the pleasing thought, that possibly it might serve to explain it. What the learned may think of it, I do not know; but I would offer it to their consideration, whether the custom he mentions may not be a remain of ancient Eastern usages.

Pococke's account is this: "Near Cairo, beyond the mosque of Sheikh Duise, and the neighbourhood of a burial place of the sons of some Pashas, on a hill, is a solid building of stone, about three feet wide, built with ten steps, being at the top about three feet square, on which the Sheikh mounts to pray on any extraordinary occasion, when all the people go out, as at the beginning of a war: and here in Egypt, when the Nile does not rise as they expect it should; and such a place they have without all the towns throughout Turkey."

There are several remarkable mosques, according to Pococke's account, in and about Cairo, one of them of surprising magnificence, another of great antiquity, yet none of these are made use of it seems on these occasions; but this little place near the mosque of Sheikh Duise is appropriated to this service.

Every town in Turkey, according to this author, has such a place. If this is exact, it does not appear however that they were anciently so common in Judea. Mizpeh, if not the only place where prayers of this sort were wont to be made, which indeed we can hardly suppose, was at least celebrated on this account, and was perhaps near some plentiful fountain of water, or otherwise proper for the assembling Israel together for war.

* Page 36.

OBSERVATION LXXX.

PEOPLE IN THE EAST OFTEN CARRY THEIR WHOLE FAMILIES WITH THEM WHEN THEY GO TO WAR.

It is not a very unusual thing, in the East, for persons to carry their whole family with them when they go to war.

The mention of little ones as being with Ittai the Gittite, when he attended king David flying before his son Absalom, 2 Samuel xv. 22, appears very strange to us; and for this reason it is that Sir J. Chardin tells us, in a note on that place, in his MS. that it is usual with the greatest part of the Eastern people to do thus, and especially the Arabs.

OBSERVATION LXXXI.

THE GRANTING OF A BANNER, A SIGN OF PROTECTION.

The satisfaction Benhadad received, touching the safety of his life, appears to have been by words; but it seems that the modern Eastern people, have looked upon the giving them a *banner* as a more sure pledge of protection.

So Albertus Aquensis tells us, that when Jerusalem was taken in 1099, about three hundred Saracens got upon the roof of a very lofty building, and earnestly begged for quarter, but could not be induced by any promises of safety to come down, until they had received the banner of Tancred, one of the chiefs of the Croisade army, as a pledge of life. It did not indeed avail them, as that historian observes; for their behaviour occasioned such indignation, that they were destroyed to a man.* The

* Gesta Dei, &c. p. 282.

event showed the faithlessness of these zealots, whom no solemnities could bind; but the Saracens surrendering themselves upon the delivery of a standard to them, proves in what a strong light they looked upon the giving them a banner, since it induced them to trust it, when they would not trust any promises.

Perhaps the delivery of a banner was anciently esteemed, in like manner, an obligation to protect, and that the Psalmist might consider it in this light,* when, upon a victory gained over the Syrians and Edomites, after the public affairs of Israel had been in a bad state, he says, *Thou hast shewed thy people hard things*, &c. *Thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee.* Though thou didst for a time give up thine Israel into the hands of their enemies, thou hast now given them an assurance of thy having received them under thy protection.

When the Psalmist is represented as saying, *Thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee, that it may be displayed*, it may be questioned whether it is rightly translated, since it is most probable they used anciently only a spear, properly ornamented, to distinguish it from a common one, as this same Albertus tells us, that a very long spear, covered all over with silver,† to which another writer‡ of those Croisade wars adds a ball of gold on the top, was the standard of the Egyptian princes at that time, and carried before their armies. *Thou hast given a banner,* נס *nes*, an ensign, or a standard, *to them that fear thee, that it may be lifted up*, may perhaps be a better version; or rather, *that they may lift it up to themselves*,‖ or encourage themselves with the confident persuasion that they are under the protection of GOD, *because of the truth*, thy word of promise,§ which is an as-

* Ps. lx. 3, 4. † Gesta Dei, &c. p. 288.

‡ Robertus Monachus, Gesta Dei, &c. p. 80.

‖ For the word להתנוסס *le hithnoses* is of the conjugation called Hithpahel.

§ 1 Chron. xvii. 9, 10.

surance of protection, like the giving me and my people a banner, the surest of pledges.

OBSERVATION LXXXII.

THE HEADS OF ENEMIES CUT OFF TO SERVE FOR A TRIUMPH.

Bishop Patrick is silent about the design of the people concerned in the cutting off the head of king Saul, after his death, and the intention of David in taking away with him the head of Goliath, after he had certainly killed him by separating it from his body; but Sanctius very justly supposes, both were done in a way of triumph.*

The instances Sanctius has produced, in confirmation of his supposition, are taken from the Roman and Grecian histories; it will perhaps, be a considerable addition to our satisfaction, to have some adduced from the managements of people, whose customs more nearly resemble those of the Old Testament. I will therefore set down such here.

Barbarossa, Morgan tells us, in his history of Algiers, having conquered the king of Cucco, and his army of African highlanders, which prince lost his life in the contest, Barbarossa returned in triumph, with the slain king's head carried before him on a lance.† This is, I presume, exactly what was done with the head of Saul: it was carried in triumph on a lance before the victorious general of the Philistine army, upon its return to their own country.

David's taking away the head of Goliath, from the place where the dead body lay, is, I imagine, to be placed in a somewhat different light, and paralleled with another transaction in the same writer. The people of Tremizan, it seems, struck off the head of an usurping king, against whom they had complained to Barbarossa, after his flight

* Vide Poli. Syn. in loc. † Page 232.

from the field of battle, in which Barbarossa had worsted him, and sent it to Barbarossa on a lance's point.* *When then David returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, and that Abner took and brought him before Saul, with the head of the Philistine in his hand*, 1 Sam. xvii. 57, we are to understand the passage, as signifying, that David having taken away the head, with a view to the solemn presenting it to Saul,† he was introduced into the royal presence, holding a spear in his hand, with Goliath's head on the point of it, which he presented with Eastern ceremony to his prince.‡

The unmartial engraver of the curious maps that so agreeably adorn Reland's Palæstina has been very unhappy here: he represents David, in the ornamental part of the map of the country of the Philistines, as a youth with a great sword in one hand, and holding up the head of Goliath in the other, like one of our executioners holding up the head of a traitor: his appearing before Saul with the head of the Philistine in his hand; was, undoubtedly, in a very different attitude. But the ideas of multitudes that read the passage, we may justly believe, are much more conformable to those of this Hollander, than to those excited in the mind upon reading the story in Morgan.

I would add, that as the arrangement of circumstances in the history of Sisera will not allow us to imagine that Jael presented his head with solemnity to Barak; or that she cut it off, in order to its being carried in triumph before that general; there is reason to believe that our version, in Judges v. 26, is not exact: *with a hammer she*

* Page 249.

† Niebuhr, I have lately observed, gives a similar account of the Southern Arabs, p. 263.

‡ The head of Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, was, probably presented to David by Baanah and Rechab, with the same kind of parade, 2 Sam. iv. 8. Sometimes heads are carried in basins in triumph. Dr. Perry gives two instances, p. 168 and 185. He also mentions eleven heads carried in a sheet to a Bashaw, and afterward ranged on a bench in a public place, p. 189. Compare 2 Kings x. 7, 8.

smote Sisera, she smote off his head when she had pierced and stricken through the temples.

Different as this management is from our rules of war, some of the next Observations will give us an account of usages still more strange in our apprehensions, and especially that which describes the sealing up of eyes.

OBSERVATION LXXXIII.

HEADS, HANDS AND FEET, OF STATE CRIMINALS CUT OFF.

They frequently cut off the hands and the feet of people in times of tumult and disorder, and afterward expose them, as well as the head; the same thing was done sometimes anciently.

Lady Wortley Montague, speaking of the Turkish minister of state, tells us, "that if a minister displeases the people, in three hours time he is dragged even from his master's arms; they cut off his hands, head and feet, and throw them before the palace gate, with all the respect in the world; while the Sultan, to whom they all profess an unlimited adoration, sits trembling in his apartment," &c. Lett. v. 2, p. 19.

This cutting off the hands and feet, of those that have behaved ill in matters of state, strange as it may seem to us, is only an old Eastern custom, not yet worn out; for we find the hands and feet of the sons of Rimmon, who slew Ishbosheth, were cut off, and hanged up over the pool Hebron, 2 Sam. iv. 12.

It seems then to be a false refinement in those commentators who suppose the hands of Baanah and Rechab were cut off, because they were employed in murdering Ishbosheth; and their feet, because they made use of them to go to the place of assassination, or in carrying off that prince's head: whatever may be thought of cutting off the assassinating hands, it cannot be pretended, with

any show of reason, that the feet were more guilty than any other limb. The truth seems to be, these were the parts wont to be cut off from state criminals, as well as their heads, whether they had or had not been particularly accessary to their guilt.

The hanging them up at the pool in Hebron seems to have been merely on account of its being a place of great resort.

I leave it to the curious to consider whether Providence designed any reference to this ancient punishment, in secretly directing the second fall of Dagon so, as that its head, and palms of its hands, were cut off, 1. Sam. v. 4.

OBSERVATION LXXXIV.

CURIOUS ACCOUNTS OF EASTERN PRISONS.

THE treatment of those that are shut up in the Eastern prisons differs from our usages, but serves to illustrate several passages of Scripture.

The MS. C.* relates several circumstances concerning their prisons, which are curious, and should not be omitted.

In the first place, he tells us that the Eastern prisons are not public buildings erected for that purpose; but a part of the house in which their criminal judges dwell. As the governor and provost of a town, or the captain of the watch, imprisoned such as are accused in their own houses, they set apart a canton of it for that purpose, when they are put into these offices, and choose for the jailor the most proper person they can find of their domestics.

Sir John supposes the prison in which Joseph, together with the chief butler and chief baker of Pharaoh, was put in Potiphar's own house. But I would apply this account

* Vol. 6.

to the illustration of another passage of Scripture: *Wherefore*, it is said, Jer. xxxvii. 15, *the princes were wroth with Jeremiah, and smote him, and put him in prison in the house of Jonathan the scribe; for they had made that the prison.* Here we see a dwelling house was made a prison; and the house of an eminent person, for it was the house of a scribe, which title, marks out a person of quality: it is certain it does so in some places of Jeremiah, particularly ch. xxxvi. 12, *Then he went down into the king's house into the scribe's chamber, and lo, all the princes sat there, even Elishama the scribe, and Delaiah*, &c. The making the house of Jonathan the prison, would not now in the East be doing him any dishonor, or occasion the looking upon him in a mean light; it would rather mark out the placing him in an office of importance. It is probable it was so anciently, and that his house became a prison, when Jonathan was made the royal scribe, and became, like the chamber of Elishama, one of the prisons of the people.

A second thing relating to the Eastern prisons, taken notice of in this MS. is, that a discretionary power is given to the keeper to treat his prisoners just as he pleases; all that is required of him being only to produce them when called for; whereas in Europe their treatment is regulated by humanity and equity. After having remarked, that several things he mentions relating to the imprisonment of Joseph, must appear very unaccountable to an European, he goes on to this purpose: "Those that have observed the manners of the modern Eastern people, will find that the like things are practised among them: they have not different prisons for the different classes of criminals; the judges do not trouble themselves about where the prisoners are confined, or how they are treated, they considering it merely as a place of safety, and all that they require of the jailor is, that the prisoner be forth coming when called for. As to the rest, he is master to do as he pleases, to treat him well or ill; to put

him in irons or not; to shut him up close, or hold him in easier restraint; to admit people to him, or to suffer nobody to see him. If the jailor and his servants have large fees, let a person be the greatest rascal in the world, he shall be lodged in the jailor's own apartment, and the best part of it; and on the contrary, if those that have imprisoned a man give the jailor greater presents, or that he has a greater regard for them, he will treat the prisoner with the greatest inhumanity." To illustrate this, he gives us a story of the treatment a very great Armenian merchant met with: "treated with the greatest caresses upon the jailor's receiving a considerable present from him at first, and fleecing him after from time to time; then, upon the party's presenting something considerable, first to the judge, and afterward to the jailor, who sued the Armenian, the prisoner first felt his privileges retrenched, was then closely confined, was then treated with such inhumanity as not to be permitted to drink above once in twentyfour hours, and this in the hottest time of summer, nor any body suffered to come near him, but the servants of the prison, and at length thrown into a dungeon, where he was in a quarter of an hour, brought to the point to which all this severe usage was intended to force him."

What energy does this account of an Eastern prison give those passages of Scripture, that speak of the sighing of the prisoners,* and its coming before GOD! of Jeremiah's being kept in a dungeon many days, and his supplicating that he might not be remanded thither, lest he should die there.†

* Ps. lxxxix. 11. † Jer. xxxvii. 16—20.

OBSERVATION LXXXV.

OF THEIR WRITINGS RELATIVE TO THE CONVEYANCE OF PROPERTY.

THE double evidences of Jeremiah's purchase, which are mentioned ch. xxxii. 11, seems a strange management in their civil concerns; yet something of the like kind obtains still among them.

Both the writings were in the hands of Jeremiah, and at his disposal, verse 14; for what purpose then were duplicates made? To those that are unacquainted with the Eastern usages, it must appear a question of some difficulty.

"The open or unsealed writing," says an eminent commentator, "was either a copy of the sealed deed, or else a certificate of the witnesses, in whose presence the deed of purchase was signed and sealed."* But it still recurs, of what use was a copy that was to be buried in the same earthen vessel, and run exactly the same risks with the original? If by a certificate is meant a deed of the witnesses, by which they attested the contract of Jeremiah and Hananeel, and the original deed of purchase had no witnesses at all, then it is natural to ask, why were they made separate writings? and much more, why was one sealed, and not the other?

Sir J. Chardin's account of modern managements, which he thinks illustrates this ancient story, is, "that after a contract is made, it is kept by the party himself, not the notary; and they cause a copy to be made, signed by the notary alone, which is shown upon proper occasions, and never exhibit the other."

According to this account, the two books were the same, the one sealed up with solemnity, and not to be used on common occasions; that which was open, the same

* Lowth Com. on Jer. xxxii. 11.

writing, to be perused at pleasure, and made use of upon all occasions. The sealed one answered a record with us; the other, a writing for common use.

OBSERVATION LXXXVI.

SEALING UP THE EYES, USED IN THE EAST.

THE very mention of the sealing up of eyes appears to us very odd, yet this is an Eastern management, and used on different occasions.

It is one of the solemnities at a Jewish wedding, at Aleppo, according to Dr. Russell, who mentions it as the most remarkable thing in their ceremonies at that time.* It is done by fastening the eye lids together with gum, and the bridegroom is the person, he says, if he remembered right, that opens his bride's eyes at the appointed time.

It is used also as a punishment in those countries. So Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, in his account of his voyages to East India, tells us of a son of the Great Mogul, whom he had seen, and with whom Sir Thomas had conversed, that had before that time been cast into prison by his father, "where his eyes were sealed up," by something put before them, which might not be taken off, "for the space of three years; after which time, that seal was taken away, that he might with freedom enjoy the light, though not his liberty."† The same writer informs us, that he was afterward taken out of prison, but still kept under a guard, in which situation he saw him, though it was believed to be the intent of his father, to make this prince, who was his first born, his successor, though out of some jealousy, he being much beloved by the people, he denied him his liberty.

Other princes have been treated after a different manner: when it has been thought fit to keep them under,

* First Edit. p. 132. † Page 471, 472.

they have had drugs ordered them, to render them stupid and inattentive to things. Thus Olearius tells us,* that Shah Abas, the celebrated Persian monarch who died in 1629, ordered a certain quantity of opium should every day be given to his grandson, who was to be his successor, in order to render him stupid, that he might not have any reason to apprehend danger from him.

I do not know that there is any reason to suspect a reference to this Jewish sealing up of eyes, in their marriage solemnities, in the Scripture; but I would ask, whether there may not be some ground to believe, the Prophet Isaiah alludes to these two different methods of treating other people, in chap. xliv. 18? *They have not known, nor understood: for he hath shut their eyes,* daubed their eyes is the marginal translation, which is known to be the exact import of the original words, כי טח מראות עיניהם ki tach meraoth eineyhem, *that they cannot see; and their hearts, that they cannot understand.* Is the supposition void of all probability, and altogether absurd?

If there is any thing at all in it, there is equally an allusion to this method of applying stupifying drugs, in Isaiah vi. 10, I should suppose, where the Prophet says, *Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert and be healed.* I do not imagine there is an allusion to three different operations here: because it is not only difficult to conceive, what other operation the making the ears heavy should allude to; but because one single thing, the stupifying the senses, would be abundantly sufficient to answer this whole description; for in such a situation, with ears open, they would not be able to hear to any purpose; and with eyes unsealed, they would not be able to see with any advantage to themselves. Two things possibly might be intended, and *shutting* the

* Page 915.

eyes mean *sealing* them ; but we cannot suppose three ; perhaps one only is meant ; the stupifying them.

How beautiful in this view do these words appear, which have been painful and difficult to many ! the quality of the persons treated after this manner ; the tenderness expressed in these sorts of punishment ; the temporary nature of them ; and the after design of making them partakers of the highest honors ; which appear in the relations of Olearius and of Sir Thomas's chaplain, all serve to throw a softness over this dispensation of Providence, toward those that deserved great severity, which will appear, I dare say, perfectly new to many of my readers. The Jews, to whom the words of the sixth chapter relate, will not be displeased with such an illustration ; but it ought to be observed also, that they were the Gentiles, who were abandoned of GOD to stupid idolatries, that chap. xliv. 18, refers to ; the dereliction of both by GOD, at different periods being dreadfully deserved by both ; and being appointed with designs of mercy as to both ; which general thought is certainly true, being the doctrine of St. Paul in the xith to the Romans, whatever may be thought of this illustration of these passages, deduced from modern Oriental customs.

OBSERVATION LXXXVII.

TREASURES HIDDEN UNDER GROUND, SUPPOSED IN THE EAST TO BE DISCOVERABLE BY SORCERY.

As treasures are frequently hidden under ground in the East, by those that are apprehensive of revolutions ; so the finding them is one great object, in their apprehensions, of sorcery.

We are told by travellers into the East, that they have met with great difficulties very often, from a notion universally disseminated among them, that all Europeans are magicians, and that their visits to those Eastern coun-

tries are not to satisfy curiosity, but to find out, and get possession of those vast treasures they believe to be buried there in great quantities.

These representations are very common; but Sir J. Chardin's MS. in a note on a passage of the Apocrypha,* gives us a more particular and amusing account of affairs of this kind. "It is common in the Indies, for those sorcerers that accompany conquerors, every where to point out the place where treasures are hid. Thus at Surat, when Siragi came thither, there were people who, with a stick striking on the ground, or against walls, found out those that had been hollowed or dug up, and ordered such places to be opened." He then intimates, that something of this nature had happened to him in Mingrelia.

Among the various contradictions that agitate the human breast, this appears to be a remarkable one: they firmly believe the power of magicians to discover hidden treasures, and yet they continue to hide them.

Dr. Perry has given us an account of some mighty treasures hidden in the ground by some of the principal people of the Turkish empire, which upon a revolution were discovered by domestics, privy to the secret.† D'Herbelot has given us accounts of treasures concealed in the same manner, some of them of great princes, discovered by accidents extremely remarkable;‡ but this account of Chardin's, of conquerors pretending to find out hidden treasures by means of sorcerers, is very extraordinary.

As however people of this cast have made great pretences to mighty things in all ages, and were not unfrequently confided in by princes, there is reason to believe they pretended sometimes, by their art, to discover treasures anciently to princes, of which they had gained in-

* 1 Macc. i. 23. † Page 77.

‡ Voy. l'Art. Amadeddulat, p. 107; et l'Art. Ismail Samani, p. 502, 503.

telligence by other methods: and as God opposed his Prophets, at various times,* to pretended sorcerers, it is not unlikely that the Prophet Isaiah points at some such prophetic discoveries in those remarkable words Is. xlv. 3. *And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of sacred places, that thou mayest know, that I the* Lord *which call* thee *by thy name,* am *the* God *of Israel:* I will give them, by enabling some Prophet of mine to tell thee where they are concealed.

Such a supposition throws a great energy into those words.

Great also was the extent of the prohibition to the Jewish people, not to consult sorcerers: they were neither to do it as Saul did, to know the event of a war; nor after they had conquered, to find out the treasures of the vanquished.

OBSERVATION LXXXVIII.

TAXES PAID IN KIND, i. e. BY A PART OF THE PRODUCE OF THE FIELD.

The Eastern people to this day, it seems, support the expenses of government, in common, by paying such a proportion of the produce of their lands to their princes. These are their taxes. No wonder it was so in remoter ages.

The MS. C. gives us this account: "The revenues of princes in the East are paid in the fruits and productions of the earth. There are no other taxes upon the peasants."†

The twelve officers of Solomon then, mentioned 1 Kings iv. 17—19, are to be considered as his general receivers. They furnished food for all that belonged to the king; and

* Exod. vii. 11, ch. viii. 19, and Is. xliv. 25.

† This is mentioned in a note on 1 Esdras iv. 6, and another on 1 Mac x. 29.

the having provisions for themselves and attendants, seems to have been, in those times of simplicity, all the ordinary gratification his ministers of state, as well as his meaner servants, received. Silver, gold, horses, armour, precious vestments, and other things of value, came to him from other quarters: partly a kind of tribute from the surrounding princes, 1 Kings x. 15, 25; partly from the merchants, whom he suffered to pass through his country to and from Egypt, or elsewhere, ver. 15; partly from his own commerce by the Red Sea, ver. 22.

The horses and armour he seems to have distributed among the most populous towns, who were to find horsemen and people to drive chariots to such a number when called for; and out of the silver, and other precious things that came to him, he made presents upon extraordinary occasions to those that distinguished themselves in his service, 1 Kings x. 26, 27.

And according to this plan of conducting the expenses of civil government, the history of Solomon is to be explained. Commentators have not always had this present to their minds when illustrating this part of Scripture.

Sir J. Chardin even supposes the telling the flocks, Jer. xxxiii. 13, was for the purpose of paying tribute, it being the custom in the East to count the flocks, in order to take the third of the increase and young ones for the king.*

OBSERVATION LXXXIX.

MONEY COUNTED AND SEALED UP IN BAGS, OR PURSES OF VARIOUS AMOUNT.

THE money that is collected together in the treasuries of Eastern princes is told up in certain equal sums, put into bags, and sealed; it appears to have been so anciently.

* It was not so large a proportion in the time of Samuel, 1 Sam. viii. 17, but must have been thought a heavy burden, when this eagerness after their nation's having regal glory among them like others, was a little abated.

The MS. C. in a note on Tobit ix. 5, tells us, "it is the custom of Persia always to seal up bags of money, and the money of the king's treasure is not told, but is received by bags sealed up.

These are what are called, in some other parts of the Levant, purses, I presume; where they reckon great expenses by so many purses. Each of these, Maillet informs us, in a note,* contains money to the value of fifteen hundred livres, or five hundred crowns.†

The money collected in the Temple in the time of king Joash, for its reparation, seems, in like manner, to have been told up in bags of equal value to each other, and we may believe delivered to those that paid the workmen sealed, 2 Kings xii. 10. One can hardly imagine the putting it in bags would otherwise have been mentioned. What the value of a Jewish purse was, no virtuoso, I doubt, will be able precisely to inform us.‡

Job seems to allude to this custom, ch. xiv. 17: and if so, he considered his offences as reckoned by GOD to be very numerous; as well as not suffered by him to be lost in inattention; for they are only considerable sums that are thus kept. If commentators have understood this image to point out the first of these two things, I have overlooked those passages; they seem to me to have confined themselves to the last, which is undoubtedly contained in the metaphor, but appears not to be the whole of it.

OBSERVATION XC.

OF THE HYPERBOLICAL COMPLIMENTS USED IN THE EAST.

WHEN we read over some of the compliments paid to Eastern princes, particularly those of the wise woman of

* Lett. x. p. 79.

† Consequently a purse is equal to about sixtyfive pounds of our money.

‡ Each bag, mentioned 2 Kings v. 23, seems to have been of the value of a talent; but this might be something extraordinary: probably they were greatly superior to modern Eastern purses in value.

Tekoah to king David, *As an angel of* GOD, *so is my Lord the king, to discern good and bad;* and again, *My Lord is wise, according to the wisdom of an angel of* GOD, *to know all things that are in the earth*, 2 Sam. xiv. 17, 20; we are ready to call to mind the hyperbolical genius of those countries: but perhaps there was more of real persuasion here than we are ready to apprehend.

Sir J. Chardin, in the sixth volume of his MS. in a note on Gen. xliv. 18, gives us a remarkable story of what once happened to him in Persia. "I happened one day, says he, when I was in the king's wardrobe, whither I had been sent for by the grand master, to fix the price of a pretty rich trinket, which his majesty had a mind to have at a less price than I could afford. I happened, I say, to answer him, upon his telling me that the king had valued it at so much only, that he knew very well it was worth more, many of the principal courtiers being present; the grand master made me a severe reply, and told me, I was not a little bold to find fault with the king's valuation, and that if a Persian had dared to have done this, it would have been as much as his life was worth, &c. I answered him, 'My lord, shall this be reckoned a crime, the saying that a great king perpetually covered with the most beautiful precious stones in the world, has put but little value on a trinket, which, compared with them, is, in truth, a trifle? The grand master replied, with the same air, 'Know that the kings of Persia have a general and full knowledge of matters, as sure as it is extensive; and that equally in the greatest and the smallest things, there is nothing more just and sure than what they pronounce,'" I had a mind to mention this incident, as it so well shows the prepossession of the Asiatics in favour of their kings, or rather of their own slavery. The knowledge of this prince, according to this great officer of his, was like that of an angel of GOD.

How far he believed this, cannot be known. Prejudice is a powerful thing; and as the Asiatics are bred up in

the profoundest reverence for their princes, so the Persians imagine, I think, there is something sacred in this race of their kings. If the ancient Egyptians supposed their princes possessed the like sagacity, which is not improbable, the compliment of Judah to Joseph was a very high one, *Thou art even as Pharaoh*,* knowing and equitable as he.

Some of the kings of Judah really possessed exquisite sagacity: David and Solomon in particular.† The spirit of extraordinary illumination has sometimes rested upon other princes, when GOD would bless the nations they governed. In such cases, without doubt, there is great truth in that saying, *A sentence of divination is in the lips of the king: his mouth transgresseth not in judgment.* Prov. xvi. 10. But this wisdom is not always appendant to majesty, though some Western flatterers, as well as some of the East, have described them to be like angels of GOD in point of knowledge; they have also contended for their possessing the power of healing a virulent disorder by their royal touch: in both assertions they have been equally in the right.

OBSERVATION XCI.

MODE OF DRAWING UP DECREES IN THE EAST.

THE manner of making Eastern decrees differs from ours: they are first written, and then the magistrate authenticates them or annuls them.

This, I remember, is the Arab manner according to d'Arvieux. When an Arab wanted a favour of the Emir, the way was to apply to the secretary, who drew up a decree according to the request of the party; if the Emir

* Gen. xliv. 18. † 1 Sam. xvi. 13. 1 Kings iii. 12, 28.

granted the favour, he printed his seal upon it; if not, he returned it torn to the petitioner.*

Sir J. Chardin confirms this account, and applies it, with great propriety, to the illustration of a passage which I never thought of when I read over d'Arvieux. After citing Is. x. 1, *Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and to the writers that write grievousness*, for so our translators have rendered the latter part of the verse in the margin, much more agreeably than in the body of the version, Sir John goes on, "the manner of making the royal acts and ordinances hath a relation to this: they are always drawn up according to the request; the first minister, or he whose office it is, writes on the side of it, 'according to the king's will,' and from thence it is sent to the secretary of state, who draws up the order in form."†

They that consult Vitringa upon the passage, will find that commentators have been perplexed about the latter part of this woe: every one sees the propriety of denouncing evil on those that decree unrighteous judgments; but it is not very clear why they are threatened that write them, it certainly would be wrong to punish the clerks of our courts, that have no other concern in unjust decrees, than in barely writing them down, according to the duty of their place, are mere amanuenses.

But according to the Eastern mode, we find he that writes or draws up the order at first is deeply concerned in the injustice, since he expresses matters as he pleases, and is the source of the mischief; the superior only passes or rejects it. He indeed is guilty if he passes an unjust order, because he ought to have rejected it; but a great deal of the guilt unquestionably comes upon him that first draws the order, and who makes it more or less oppressive to others, just as he pleases, or rather, according to the present that is made him by the party that solicits the order.

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 61, 154, and 155. † Page 63.

For it appears from d'Arvieux, that the secretary of the Emir drew up no order without a present, which were wont to be proportionate to the favour asked; and that he was very oppressive in his demands.

In this view of things the words of the Prophet are very clear, and easy to be understood; and Sir J. Chardin, by his acquaintance with the East, proves a much better interpreter than the most learned Western commentators, even celebrated rabbies themselves: for, according to Vitringa, rabbi David Kimchi supposes the judges themselves were the writers the Prophet meant, and so called, because they caused others to write unjust determinations: though Vitringa admits, that such an interpretation does not well agree with the conjugation of the Hebrew word.

OBSERVATION XCII.

MANNER OF THE EXPEDITIONS OF PETTY PRINCES IN THE EAST.

THE expedition of Chederlaomer and his associates, mentioned Gen. xiv. to an European reader seems very strange, almost incredible; but expeditions of a like kind still continue among the Arabs.

What appears strange in the Mosaic account is, the smallness of the number of their troops, with which the petty kings of five single cities dared to contend, ver. 9, against those who had made so many conquests, ver. 5, 6, 7; and the distance from whence these came, one of them at least from the land of Shinar, ver. 1.

Mekkrami, an Arab Sheekh, Niebuhr tells us, by his politics and valour became terrible to his neighbours, and even to distant states: he then mentions several of his expeditions; and after adds, "having thus caused his army to pass, in a little time, through the whole breadth

of Arabia, from the Arabian gulf to the Persian, even through strange countries, which would be impossible to be done in our method of making war in Europe. But the Arabian armies take neither cannon with them, nor many tents; the small quantity of provisions and ammunition which they have with them is carried on camels, and their soldiers, who are nearly naked, or at least very thinly clad, are not oppressed with arms." P. 237.

It appears from the account that Niebuhr gives of his expeditions, that he passed over a very considerable desert; that he attacked very different clans of Arabs; that he fell upon very distant parts of the country from that which he governed; and that his army was but small: circumstances very much resembling those of the ancient princes mentioned by Moses, who seem to have been Arabs, one of them reigning over a portion of the land of Shinar, whose extent in these times we may not be able precisely to determine; the other three neighbours.

Niebuhr also mentions a stratagem of an Arab prince, very much resembling that of Gideon, whose three hundred men blew with trumpets in different avenues to the Midianitish camp: which modern stratagem, like the ancient one, was successful, and ended in the ruin of the invaders, p. 438. But I shall take no further notice of this; for though it is incidentally and undesignedly mentioned by Niebuhr, the learned Michaelis has taken notice of the conformity between the two stories, in the extract which he published of Niebuhr's Description of Arabia, p. 36; only adding this remark, that probably the Midianitish army was encamped in a place pretty much surrounded by high hills, like the modern Arab camp, and that the three companies of Gideon's people showed themselves in three different entrances into the plain in which the Midianites lay. These must have appeared extremely numerous, as there were so many trumpets, if few trumpets were anciently used, though the

number of troops was considerable: Moses, we know, ordered only two trumpets to be made for directing the journeying of all the Israelitish camps in the wilderness, Num. x. 2: and one trumpet only, it seems, was used in each detachment of the modern victorious Arab army, according to Niebuhr.*

* See this account at large in p. 334. EDIT.

CHAP. X.

CONCERNING EGYPT, THE ADJOINING WILDERNESS, AND THE RED SEA.

OBSERVATION I.

OF THE BOUNDARIES OF EGYPT.

One would have been ready to suppose, the Egyptians should not have been desirous of extending their territories beyond the natural limits of that country; but we find them not only represented as doing so in the Scriptures, but the same humour has continued through succeeding ages, down to our own times.

"The limits of Persia, according to Sir John Chardin, differ from those small states, which are separated from their neighbours by, it may be, a rivulet or a stone pillar. Persia has almost on every side of it a space of three or four days' journey uninhabited, though the soil be, in many places, the best in the world, particularly on the side of the East and West. The Persians look upon it as a mark of true grandeur, to leave thus abandoned, the countries that lie between great empires, which prevents, they say, contests about their limits, these desert countries serving as walls of separation between kingdoms."*

Egypt has naturally such grand bounderies: great deserts, which admit not of cultivation, divide it from other countries on the east and on the west; which cir-

* Voy. tome 2, p. 4.

cumstance, united with the consideration of the natural fertility of its own soil, and of its convenient situation for commerce by means of the Mediterranean, and of the Red Sea, might have made its princes, one would have thought, content with their own country. But the fact has been quite otherwise.

Pharaoh, whose daughter Solomon married, took Gezer and burnt it with fire, and slew the Canaanites that dwelt in it, and then made a present of it unto his daughter, Solomon's wife.* But this might, possibly, have been his original design, and not have been intended as any enlargement of his own kingdom. Another Pharaoh, after that, smote Gaza,† which will not admit of such an interpretation. But what is more decisive, is the account that is given us of Pharaoh Necho, who seems to have been willing to make the Euphrates the boundary of his kingdom.‡

Answerable to this we find, in the book of Maccabees, the Greek kings of Egypt, the Ptolemies, striving to join the kingdom of Syria to Egypt, getting possession of all the cities on the sea coast as far as Seleucia, and setting two crowns on their heads, that of Asia and of Egypt,|| &c. In like manner, we find at the time of the beginning of the Croisades all the sea coast of Syria, from Laodicea, was under the dominion of Egypt.§ Saladine afterward, though possessed of Egypt, struggled hard for the cities of Syria.¶ After that Sultan Bibars,** of the Mameluke princes of Egypt continued the same contests, and carried his views as far as Bira in Mesopotamia, otherwise called Beer, I presume, on the Euphrates, and twice obliged the Tartars to raise the siege of that place. And in our own time, Ali Bey, who had possessed himself of Egypt, and whose great aim, as to Syria, seems to have been, to erect

* 1 Kings xi. 16. † Jer. xlvii. 1.

‡ 2 Kings xxiv. 7, and 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. || 1 Mac. xi. 1, 3, 8, 13.

§ Gesta Dei, p. 855. ¶ D'Herbelot, art. Salaheddin. ** Art. Bibars.

some states there independent of the Ottoman empire, as a barrier between him and the Turks, yet is said to have designed to have kept Gaza himself, while he thought of establishing Sheekh Taher over Syria, Damascus, and all that country as far as Gaza. Such is the account of the Baron de Tott.*

Notwithstanding then the commodiousness of having a desert country, of the breadth of several days' journey, between Egypt and Asia, as a boundary to their kingdom, the princes of Egypt of various ages, and indeed in a long succession, have struggled hard for some parts of Syria, and even as far as the Euphrates. An examination then of the grounds on which they proceeded, and the nature of their politics, may illustrate, in the best manner now in our power, those passages of Scripture that relate to similar managements of the more ancient Egyptian princes.

OBSERVATION II.

REMARKS ON THE TITLE GIVEN TO ALI BEY BY THE SHERIFF OF MECCA.

A TITLE that was given to Ali Bey, by the sheriff of Mecca, a Mohammedan kind of sacred prince, deserves attention, as it illustrates a passage in the apochryphal book of Judith.

The title given to Ali by the sheriff, in gratitude for his being raised by Ali to that honor, was "Sultan of Egypt and the Two Seas."† The Mediterranean and the Red Sea, near the last of which the territory of Mecca lay, while

* Mem. tome 4, p. 81. I might have mentioned too, Ahmed Ben Thouloun, a century or two before the Croisades began, who not content with acquiring Egypt, by dispossessing the khaliff of it, was so ambitious as to push on into Syria, where he seized on its principal cities, Damascus, Emessa, Kennasserin, Aleppo, extending his conquest even to Raccah, in Mesopotamia. Voy. d'Herbelot, art. Kennasserin. Biblioth. Orientale.

† Revolt of Ali Bey, p. 104.

the principal ports of Egypt were on the other, are, undoubtedly the two seas that were meant. The answerable passage to this title in the book of Judith is in its 1st chapter, ver. 12, *Therefore Nabuchodonosor was very angry with all this country, and sware by his throne and kingdom . . . that he would slay with his sword all the inhabitants of the land of Moab, and the children of Ammon, and all Judea, and all that were in Egypt, till you come to the borders of the two seas.*

It appears then to have been an ancient practice, to describe Egypt as bordering on those two seas; nor has that way of pointing it out sunk into oblivion in these later ages.

OBSERVATION III.

BATHING IN THE NILE, ONE MODE OF EXPRESSING GRATITUDE FOR THE BENEFITS RECEIVED FROM THE OVERFLOWING OF THAT RIVER.

THE people of Egypt, particularly the females of that country, express their veneration for the benefits received from the Nile, by plunging into it, at the time of its beginning to overflow the country: is it not probable, that the daughter of Pharaoh's going into that river,* when Moses was found in his bulrush ark, arose from something of the same cause? a veneration, perhaps, carried further than that of the present inhabitants of Egypt, and of an idolatrous kind?

It has ever appeared somewhat strange to me, that a princess of Egypt should bathe in the river itself, and in the neighbourhood of a royal city, in waters so remarkable in all ages, for being covered with boats and crowds of people; and that in the East, where the women so scrupulously concealed their faces, by large veils, from the sight of men: a practice then in use, as well as now.

* Exod. ii. 5.

Much freer as the northern nations are in exposing themselves, it would have been thought, I should imagine, a most indecent thing in a princess of England to have gone from Whitehall, with her attendants about her, to bathe in the Thames, while those attendants amused themselves by walking on the side of the river.

This has so struck commentators, that some of them have seemed to suppose she did not bathe in the Nile, but in some basin of water in the royal gardens, which had a communication with the river, and might therefore be considered as a part of it; but, in such a case, the ark with the infant would not have been in view. Others suppose some highly ornamented edifice of wood might have been constructed in the river, something like our modern bathing machines, into which the princess might enter, and bathe there in perfect security from the prying eye; at the same time that through some small latticed window she might see the little vessel, in which the babe lay: her attendants walking about on the banks, not merely for their diversion, but that the princess might not be disturbed in her privacy.

Vain accounts these! as we find no mention made of any such conveniencies anciently, nor even now, though the present inhabitants of Egypt bathe as much, both for their health, and from superstition, as they could do in the time of Pharaoh; and have a very distinguishing regard still for the Nile. But instead of any structures of this sort, the present race of Egyptians, notwithstanding the nearness of the Nile, have just such hummums, or structures for bathing, in their cities, as are found in other Eastern countries, to which those of the lower ranks resort, those in higher life having such conveniencies at home, so fond are the great of retirement in bathing, as well as those in other countries.

Perhaps the following passages, from Irwin's Travels, may lead to the true solution of what appears so extraordinary, in this account of the Egyptian princess.

"Wednesday, 13th August . . . . . We were awakened from our first sleep by the sounds of tinkling instruments, accompanied by a chorus of female voices. I looked out of the window, and saw a band, of thirty damsels at least, come tripping toward us, with measured paces, and animated gestures. The moon shone very bright, and we had a full view of them, from their entering the gate of our street, until they reached our house. Here they stopped, and spreading themselves in a circle before the door, renewed the dance and song with infinite spirit, and recalled to our minds the picture which is so fully given of these dancing females in Holy Writ. After they had favoured us a few minutes with their lively performance, they moved on to the Hakeem's* house, and serenading him with an air or two, this joyous band quitted our quarter, and went, as the dying sounds informed us, to awaken the other slumberers of the town, to melody and joy! &c.

"Thursday, 14th August. We were impatient to know the cause of the agreeable disturbance we met with last night, and learn from one of our guard, that the dancing girls observe the ceremony we were witness to, on the first visible rise of the Nile. It seems that they took our house in their way to the river, where they went down to bathe at that late hour, and to sing the praises of the benevolent power, who yearly distributes his waters to supply the necessities of the natives." P. 229, 230.

"I learn," says this author, in a succeeding page, "that the crocodile is a most formidable tenant of the Nile, and held in great dread by the fishermen; one of them told us, that he was present at the death of a crocodile a short time ago, in whose belly were found the gold rings and ornaments of a dancing girl, who was devoured by the monster, as she was bathing in the river," p. 259.

I would make a few remarks here upon these accounts.

In the first place, though hummums, erected for bathing, with many conveniencies for that purpose, commonly

* A principal officer of the town of Ghinnah, in Upper Egypt, where they then were.

called bagnios, are very common in Egypt, yet going into the Nile, at particular times, is still practised by the Egyptian females.

Secondly, That it should seem, at those times they do not divest themselves of their clothing, though their going into the Nile is at night, and when men are supposed to be asleep in bed, or at least shut up in their respective houses. The gold rings and ornaments of the girl, that was devoured by a crocodile, were found in that destroying animal when killed soon after; whereas in the Eastern bagnios, according to Lady M. W. Montague, the women are naked.* It seems then, on the contrary, when the women go into the Nile, they are not disrobed, but enter it with their clothes, and even ornaments upon them.

Thirdly, Consequently this entering into the Nile, on these occasions, is not so much with a naturally purifying or refreshing view, but to express their veneration for that river, when they find it apparently risen, and about to distribute its important benefits to Egypt. The Indian women that go into the Ganges, to purify themselves, are stripped, we are told, though it is done with such art and quickness, as to be as little injurious to modesty as possible; but these Egyptian Arabs do not strip, consequently they go not into the water for purifying. The heat of those sultry countries make the bathing in cold water very pleasing, but we do not find, I think, that they go into cold water with their clothes on, in order to render the coolness more lasting, and especially would they not do so that go into the cold water in the evening. It was done then, from devotion, or veneration. So, according to Pitts, many of the devout Mohammedans that visit Mecca, have five or six buckets of the sacred water there poured upon their heads, not properly for the purifying themselves, nor for refreshment from the heat, but from devotion.†

Fourthly, Though they are only dancing girls, or public women now, so far as appears by this account, that go

* Letters, vol. 1, p. 162; and vol. 3, p. 30—32. † Page 135.

into the Nile upon the rising of its waters; an Egyptian princess, in ancient times, when the Nile was adored as a deity, might enter it, at that time of the year, with music and singing. So king David did not disdain to dance before the ark of GOD, though it was an action that Michal, Saul's daughter, thought would better have been left to the common people to practise.*

Fifthly, If this solution be admitted, and the ceremony that Irwin saw, be a relic of ancient Egyptian devotion, then as Moses was hid about three months before he was committed to the Nile,† he must have been born about the middle of May. The conduct of Providence also claims our attention, which made the idolatrous devotion of Thermuthis,‡ the daughter of Pharaoh, the means of rescuing from death a child, whom GOD intended to make a great Iconomachus‖ of the Old Testament times, and whose religion was the great preparative to the gospel, by which the worship of idols has been set aside among so many of the heathen nations.

Lastly, Then also the walking of Pharaoh's daughter to the Nile, and along its banks, was not for mere pleasure, but it is to be understood to have been a sacred procession, united with music and songs of praise.

The 16th verse of the 23d of Isaiah may also perhaps receive some illustration from these dancing females, when we recollect their profession: *Take a harp, go about the city, thou* HARLOT *that hast been forgotten, make sweet melody, sing many songs.* These Egyptian harlots went about Ghinnah, with instrumental music, and with songs.

OBSERVATION IV.

METHOD OF CATCHING THE CROCODILE IN EGYPT.

CROCODILES are very terrible to the inhabitants of Egypt; when therefore they appear, they watch them

* 2 Sam. vi. 16. † Exod. ii. 2. ‡ So called by Josephus.

‖ Image destroyer.

with great attention, and take proper precautions to secure them, so as that they should not be able to avoid the deadly weapons the Egyptians afterward make use of to kill them.

To these watchings, and those deadly after assaults, I apprehend Job refers, when he says, *Am I a sea, or a tannin*, that is a whale according to our translation, but a crocodile is what, I make no doubt, is meant there, *that thou settest a watch over me?* Ch. vii. 12.

"The crocodile," says Maillet,* "is very common in Egypt; but it is chiefly found in the Upper Egypt, and very seldom in the Delta,† hardly even within a day's journey above Cairo. It is extremely dangerous, and makes a great ravage wherever it is met with, especially above Girgey, which is the place where the ancient Sais stood. They have been known to carry off men themselves, and other animals, when they met with them on the borders of the Nile. Credible persons have assured me, that toward Essené there are some so prodigious, that they sometimes stop small troops of travellers.

"Different methods are used to take them, and some of them very singular. The most common is to dig deep ditches along the Nile, which are covered with straw, and into which the crocodile may probably tumble. Sometimes they take them with hooks, which are baited with a quarter of a pig, or with bacon, of which they are very fond. Some hide themselves in the places which they know to be frequented by this creature, and lay snares for him. As soon as he is taken, the hunter runs with loud cries, and says to the crocodile in a strong and threatening tone, *childraak-scynche*, that is, *lift up your foreleg;* this the animal does, upon which the hunter pierces him, in the hollow part under the shoulder, with a barbed dart, and kills him. Some are even so bold as to go to the crocodile, when he is asleep, and fix the dart in him

* Lett. 9, p. 32, 33.

† The triangular part of Egypt, whose base is the sea coast of that country, consequently stiled the Lower Egypt.

without his being taken in any toils. Others take him by some different methods, with which I am unacquainted; but certainly not with nets, for they are not in use in this country.*

"One of the inhabitants of the Upper Egypt took one of them, the last year, in a manner which deserves to be mentioned, both on account of its singularity, and the danger to which the man exposed himself. He placed a very young boy, which he had, in the spot where the day before this animal had devoured a girl of fifteen, belonging to the governor of this place, who had promised a reward to any one that should bring him the crocodile dead or alive. The man at the same time concealed himself very near the child, holding a large board in his hand, in readiness to execute his design. As soon as he perceived the crocodile was got near the child, he pushed his board into the open mouth of the creature, upon which his sharp teeth, which cross each other, entered into this board with such violence that he could not disengage them, so that it was impossible for him after that to open his mouth. The man immediatcly further secured his mouth, and by this means got the fifty crowns the governor promised to whosoever could take this creature.

"Finally, this animal is without contradiction possessed of most extraordinary strength. But a few days ago they brought me one alive, only a foot and half long. He was secured by a cord. I caused his snout to be set free, and he immediately turned to bite him that held him; but he only seized on his own tail, into which his teeth entered so far, that it was necessary to make use of an iron instrument to open his mouth. This creature might be no more than a fortnight old. What might a crocodile of 20 feet, or more, do! I last year saw one of 12 feet, which had eat nothing for thirtyfive days, having his mouth muzzled all that time. With one stroke of his tail he threw down five or six men, and a bale of coffee, with as much ease as I could throw down half a dozen pawns on a chessboard."

* This I apprehend, is by no means true, but a proof of his inattention to common things.

With what eagerness must the people of those countries watch these formidable animals, and with what repeated efforts endeavour to demolish them when ensnared in their toils!

For though, according to Maillet, they are sometimes killed by darts, they are at other times knocked on the head with clubs, according to father Sicard, in his Memoirs of the Missionaries, cited by Egmont and Heyman, vol. ii. p. 218, 219.

In this view, how forcible is the complaint of Job, that GOD had dealt with him as men do by crocodiles, who watch them with great attention, and fall upon them with repeated blows, and give not over until they have destroyed them.*

It is more difficult to illustrate the other part of the complaint, "Am I a sea?" Some have supposed the word sea is to be understood of the Nile. Admitting this

* Those pictures of the fancy, which we are wont to call dragons, are not very unlike creatures of the lizard kind, and in particular a crocodile, excepting their having wings; and when we consider the swiftness of their motion straight forwards, it is no wonder the affrighted fancy of those that but just escape them, clapped a couple of wings on those crocodiles, which they found to be so extremely difficult to be avoided. Whether there was as specious a foundation for those other embellishments, which are deviations from the true figure of a crocodile, I leave to others to inquire.

As some species of the lizard kind inhabit the water; while others are found in old buildings, &c. on the land; as some are supposed to be of a poisonous nature; as the crocodile, the chief of the lizard kind, is extremely voracious; and as ancient, as well as modern poets, have supposed they enticed unwary travellers by their dissembled lamentations, or at least wept over those they devoured, the same apprehension, whether founded in nature or mistake, might be as ancient as the days of the Prophet Micah, ch. i. 8, or even the times of Job, ch. xxx. 28, 29: if, I say, we recollect these circumstances, we have all the properties ascribed in Scripture to the tannin, except the watching for them, mentioned in the passage I am now endeavouring to illustrate; and their suckling their young, which Jeremiah speaks of, Lam. iv. 3, As to this last, if it be admitted that the seal and the otter, though not properly of the lizard kind, do yet so far resemble them, as that it is by no means unnatural to suppose, that in those days, of remote antiquity, they might be classed together under one genus, this difficulty will be removed, and the ancients, we know, were by no means very accurate in their arrangement of natural objects, for the seal and the otter are reckoned, in these exact times, among the mammalia, or the animals that give their young suck.

large sense of the word ים *yam*, translated *sea*, it may be said that the Nile indeed is watched with extraordinary care; but in the season of its increase, which was the time they so attentively watched it, they beheld it rising with pleasure, and looked to this river with grateful veneration: the watching the Nile then by no means resembled the watching the crocodile, which they considered as an object of terror, and whose approach filled them with dread. One can hardly therefore imagine they would be joined together in one and the same complaint: the one watched with anxiety and dread as a terrible destroyer; the other watched with hope and pleasure, as a great benefactor of Egypt, and its approaching them, by its rising nearer, celebrated with great joy.

But there might be cases in which the overflowing o the Nile might be watched with dread. And Herodotus has, it seems, expressly remarked this with respect to Memphis, that celebrated Egyptian city, according to a note in Norden's History of Egypt, p. 75, vol. i. in which we are told, that Herodotus said, that at the time when he wrote, the Persians, then the masters of Egypt, attended with great observance, to a mound thrown up one hundred stadia above Memphis, the mound being repaired every year. For if the river should break down that mound, there would be a great deal of danger that all Memphis would be drowned.*

If so important a city, so often mentioned in the Old Testament, was in such continual danger, and its defending mound watched with so much anxiety in the time of Herodotus, something of the like sort might be in earlier time, and the crocodile and its parent stream be mentioned together here on that account.

There might be like anxious watchings in Arabia, and in that part of it called the Land of Uz; but we are not sufficiently acquainted with those countries positively to determine this. Some learned men in France† have ob-

* See also Shaw's Travels, p. 302, 303.

† The Royal Academy of Inscriptions and of the Belles Letters. See

served, that the Arabian history makes mention of the destruction of a great city, and a most delightful territory, upon the breaking down a mighty mound by the weight of the incumbent water. This mound was a prodigious bank, reaching from one mountain to another, raised in order to keep in the water that poured down the neighbouring hills, and to form a large lake. This event made a celebrated era among the Arabs, and the Royal Academy of Inscriptions desired the Danish Academicians to inquire into it, when they went into the East.

But this was too late an event to be referred to in the book of Job; nor was that mound, so far as we are told, watched with anxious uneasiness; but broke down unexpectedly. It does not however follow from hence, but that there might have been other reservoirs of water, from which danger might be apprehended.

It is certain such destructive events were not unknown to the ancient Jews. David plainly refers to such.* Job might equally well be supposed to have heard of them: but it is to be hoped, a more accurate acquaintance with those countries may hereafter illustrate what is at present almost lost in obscurity.†

OBSERVATION V.

CAUSE OF THE PESTILENCE IN EGYPT.

THE Bishop of Waterford, in his illustration of the writings of the Minor Prophets, supposes, that "the pestilence after the manner of Egypt," mentioned Amos iv.

the 94th question proposed by Michaelis to the Danish Academicians, and the Memoir of the Academy of Inscriptions, &c. in the close of that collection.

* 2 Sam. ver. 20.

† After all these ingenious conjectures, it is probable the text of Job relates simply to the *barriers* or *mounds* which they opposed in certain places to the incursions of the *crocodile*, and the inundations of the *Sea* or *Nile*, where its overflowings would have been ruinous, as in villages, cities, &c. And thus it is likely the word משמר *mishmar*, is to be understood, from the root שמר *shamar*, to *keep safe*, to *preserve*, or *defend*. EDIT.

10, meant "the unwholesome effluvia, on the subsiding of the Nile, (which) caused some peculiarly malignant diseases in this country." But, unhappily, he has produced no proof of this from those that have travelled into, or resided in that country; there is however some foundation for such a supposition, and I doubt not, but so friendly and benevolent a prelate, will allow me to endeavour to supply the omission.

Maillet, or rather, perhaps, the Abbot Mascrier, the enthusiastic encomiast of Egypt, in an extravagant paragraph of praise, allows this: "It is of this country, which seems to have been regarded by nature with a favourable eye, that the gods have made a sort of terrestrial paradise. The air there is more pure and excellent than in any other part of the world. This goodness of the air communicates itself to all things living or inanimate, which are placed in this fortunate region. The women, and the females of other species, are more fruitful than any where else; the lands are more productive. The men there, commonly enjoy perfect health, the trees and plants never lose their verdure, and the fruits are always delicious, or at least salutary. It is true, that this air, good as it is, is nevertheless subject to be corrupted in some proportion as other climates. I even acknowledge that it is bad in those parts, where, when the inundations of the Nile have been very great, this river, in retiring to its channel, leaves marshy places, which infect the country round about. The dew is also very dangerous in Egypt."*

But though the air is, by the acknowledgment of this partial writer, unwholesome in some places in November and December, when the Nile returns into its channel, on the account of some marshy places which infect the air; yet these disorders, whatever they may be, surely hardly deserve to be described by a word that signifies the *pestilence*, or to be spoken of as something peculiar to Egypt. It is, according to this author, and I imagine his assertion will not be contested, about the time the Nile

* Lett. 1, p. 14, 15.

begins to rise, and when the south wind blows, that the sickly season begins; then fevers rage, and it is then that pestilence makes its ravages in Egypt.* The Egyptian autumnal complaints then are not to be compared with those of the summer, and consequently it will hardly be admitted that the Prophet refers to them, as his lordship supposes.

Nor is there indeed any thing so particular in the pestilence in Egypt, as to distinguish it from that disease in other countries; since then the original phrase מצרים בדרך *bederek mitsrayim*, is ambiguous, and may as well be translated *in the way of Egypt*, as *after the manner of Egypt*. I should apprehend that this 10th verse refers to some severe chastisement Israel received, in the way to Egypt, not the way from Judea by Gaza, or the land of the Philistines,† but the way by the Eastern side and southern end of the Dead Sea, in which march, in that part of the desert, they were at once assailed by some mortal disease, which carried off great numbers; by the sword, either of the wild Arabs, or some other enemy: their horses unexpectedly carried off in the night, according to the Arab custom, in whose swiftness and usefulness in war Israel was wont to place no little confidence; and their camp rendered a scene of complete desolation and ruin.

The books of Kings and Chronicles make no distinct mention of such an event; but as they are very short accounts of the Jewish princes, so several things are referred to in the Prophets which are not mentioned there. The succeeding verse, of this 4th of Amos, is a proof of the truth of such omissions.

It becomes the more necessary to adopt such an interpretation of Amos, as supposes he refers to the ravages of the pestilence among the Israelites, as they were marching in the wilderness in the more southern road to Egypt, on some warlike expedition, since the recent publication of the Memoirs of the Baron de Tott, who assures us,

* Let. 2. p. 57. † See Exod. xiii. 17. 18.

that the noxious exhalations from the stagnation of the water left on the land, when the Nile retires into its proper channel, and the ravages of the pestilence there, are not so great, as in many other places. His words are as follows:

"To this fertility and richness of the productions of Egypt, must be added a most salubrious air. We shall be more particularly struck with this advantage, when we consider that Rosetta, Damietta, and Mansoora, which are encompassed with rice grounds, are much celebrated for the healthiness of their neighbourhood; and that Egypt is, perhaps, the only country in the world where this kind of culture, which requires stagnant waters, is not unwholesome. Riches are not there destructive to the lives of men.

"The researches I have carefully made, concerning the plague which I once believed to originate in Egypt, have convinced me, that it would not be so much as known there, were not the seeds of it conveyed thither by the commercial intercourse between Constantinople and Alexandria. It is in this last city that it always begins to appear; it but rarely reaches Cairo, though no precaution is taken to prevent it: and when it does, it is presently extirpated by the heats, and prevented from arriving as far as the Saide. It is likewise well known, that the penetrating dews, which fall in Egypt about midsummer, destroy, even in Alexandria, all remains of this distemper."*

If this account be accurate, the Prophet Amos cannot be supposed to refer to mortal disorders, arising from the exhalations of marshy places in Egypt, nor yet to the pestilence there, which certainly carry off many in that country, for both the one and the other are found to be gentler than in many other places.

But the breaking out of a pestilential disorder in an army of Israel in the wilderness, in the southern road to

* Part 4, p. 60, 70.

Egypt, when harrassed by the Arabs of the desert, must have been a severe scourge upon them.

That the kingdom of the ten tribes had some contest with those that lived in that part of the country, appears from what is said concerning Jeroboam, the second of its princes of that name, in 2 Kings xiv. 25, 26: *He restored the coast of Israel, from the entering of Hamath, unto the sea of the plain, according to the word of the* LORD GOD *of Israel. . . For the* LORD *saw the affliction of Israel that it was very bitter*, &c. He had, according to this, some contest with those near the Dead Sea, in which he was successful, but before that the affliction of Israel had been very bitter, according to the historian: and bitter it must have been indeed, if some pestilential disease raged in their camp, while their soldiers were killed in considerable numbers, their horses, on which they had great dependence, carried off, and they so circumstanced, as for some time not to be able to quit the place where they were encamped.

That large bodies of people are sometimes attacked in this desert with mortal diseases, and which kill very suddenly, we learn from Maillet. "During the summer, a fresh north wind blows in this climate all day long, which very much assuages the heat. . . But if this north wind happen to fail, and instead of that it blows to the south, which however but rarely happens, then the whole caravan becomes so sickly and exhausted, that there die very commonly three or four hundred persons in a day. They have sometimes been known to amount to fifteen hundred,* of whom the greatest part have been stifled at once by this burning air, and the dust this dreadful wind brings along with it in such quantities."†

In a time of such mortality, when the dead and the sick were so numerous, those that were well were held in perpetual employment by continual alarms from the

* Out of about 50,000 persons, according to his estimation. Let. dern. p. 228.

† Page 232.

Arabs, instead of applying themselves to the burying their dead; when the sword might cut off as many as this corrupting wind: the stench of the camp of Israel must have been exceeding great.

The loss also of their horses of war in such a time of calamity, by such an ever watchful and skulking enemy, must be believed to be exceeding great.

OBSERVATION VI.

EXPLANATION OF THE THIRD PLAGUE OF EGYPT.

THE learned have not been agreed in their opinion concerning the *third* of the plagues of Egypt: Exod. viii. 16, &c. Some of the ancients suppose that *gnats*, or some animals resembling them, were meant; whereas our translators, and many of the moderns, understand the original word כנים *kinneem*, as signifying *lice*.

Bishop Patrick, in his commentary, supposes that Bochart has sufficiently proved, out of the text itself, that our version is right, since gnats are bred in fenny places, he might have said with truth, and with much greater energy of argument, in water, whereas the animals Moses here speaks of, were brought out of the dust of the earth.

A passage I lately met with, in Vinisauf's account of the expedition of our King Richard the First into the Holy Land,* may, perhaps, give a truer representation of this Egyptian plague, than those that suppose they were *gnats*, or those that suppose they were *lice*, that GOD used on that occasion, as the instrument of that third correction.

Speaking of the marching of that army of Croisaders, from Cayphas to where the ancient Cæsarea stood, that

* Hist. Ang. Script. quinque, vol. 2, p. 351. Instantibus singulis noctibus imminebant quidam *vermiculi*, vulgo dicti *tarrentes*, solo repentes, atrocissimis ferventes puncturis; de die non nocebant, superveniente vero nocte, ingruebant molestissimis armati aculeis, quibus quos pungerent statim grassato veneno inflabantur percussi, & vehementissimis angustiabantur doloribus.

writer informs us, that each night certain worms distressed them, commonly called *tarrentes*, which crept upon the ground, and occasioned a very burning heat by most painful punctures. They hurt nobody in the day time, but when night came on they extremely pestered them, being armed with stings, conveying a poison which quickly occasioned those that were wounded by them to swell, and was attended with the most acute pains.

It is very much to be regretted that the natural history of the Holy Land is so imperfect. What these tarrentes were I do not pretend distinctly to know, but as they are called worms, as they crawled on the ground, and occasioned extreme pain, I should apprehend it is more probable that they were insects of this, or some kindred species, that Moses intends, rather than gnats bred in the water, or lice, which have, in common, no connection with the dust of the ground.

It is sufficiently evident, that for two thousand years back, the insect meant by Moses under this third plague was not determinately known. For the authors of the Septuagint supposed gnats were meant, translating the Hebrew word by the term Σκνιφες; whereas Josephus* supposed, with the moderns, that lice were to be understood to be the instruments God made use of at this time, unluckily describing them as produced by the bodies of the Egyptians, under the clothes with which they were covered,† which indeed is a natural description of the usual circumstances that favour the propagation of lice, but by no means agrees with the Mosaic account, which represents these insects, whatever they were, as appearing first on the earth, and from thence making their way to man and beast.‡

* With whom, it appears from Trommius, some of the other old translators of the Scriptures into Greek agree, though that circumstance is not taken notice of by Lambert Bos in his edition.

† Φθειρων γαρ τοις Αιγυπτιοις εξηνθησεν απειρον τι πληθος ενδοθεν αναδιδομενων.

‡ All the MSS. of the Septuagint agree in translating the original by either σκνιφες, σκνιπες or σκνηφες. The Syriac version terms them *creeping*

I will only further add, the better to assist the naturalist, in determining what the insects were which in the age of Vinisauf were commonly called *tarrentes*, that these wounds were cured by the application of theriacum, and that they were creatures that disliked a noise, which made the pilgrims make all the clattering noise they could, with their helmets and shields, their basins, dishes, kettles, and any thing that came to hand, that could conveniently be applied to this purpose.

OBSERVATION VII.

OIL BURNT IN EGYPT IN HONOR OF THE DEAD, AND IN HONOR OF IDOLS.

Oil is now presented in the East, to be burnt in honor of the dead, whom they reverence with a religious kind of homage; and I should apprehend, it is most natural to suppose the Prophet Hosea refers to a similar practice in the times of antiquity, when he upbraids the Israelites with carrying oil into Egypt.*

The carrying oil into Egypt must have been either for an idolatrous purpose; with a political view to gain the friendship of Pharaoh, or merely with a commercial intention.

Oil was an article of commerce among the ancient Jews, as appears from Ezek. xxvii. 17. They carried it to Tyre without reproof; they might with equal innocence have carried it into Egypt, if it had been only with a commercial view.

Commentators have been sensible of this, and have therefore supposed that the oil was treacherously carried into Egypt, as a present to king Pharaoh, to induce him to take part with Israel against Assyria. There was un-

locusts. See Dr Holmes' Edit. of the Pentateuch, where a few other variations are noted, which are of no moment in the above question. EDIT.

* Hosea xii. 1.

doubtedly some treacherous management of this nature: 2 Kings xvii. 4, proves it beyond all dispute. But that they endeavoured to gain the friendship of Pharaoh, by sending him a large parcel of oil, does not seem so natural a supposition, if we remark, that no present of this kind appears to have been made by the Jewish princes, of that time, to foreign kings, to gain their friendship: it was the gold and silver of the Temple, and of the Royal palace, that Ahaz sent to the king of Assyria, 2 Kings xvi. 8, not oil; nor did the king of Egypt, when he put down Jehoahaz from the throne of Judah, and mulcted the land, appoint them to pay so much oil, but so much silver, and so much gold, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3. Nor was oil any part of the present that Jacob sent to Joseph, as viceroy of Egypt, but balm, honey, spices, myrrh, nuts, pistachio nuts, according to Dr. Shaw, and almonds.*

But if they burnt oil in Egypt, in those early times, in honor of their idols, and the Jews sent oil into Egypt with an intention of that sort, it is no wonder the Prophet so severely reproaches them with sending oil thither.

It is certain the ancient people of the East were wont, on various occasions, to send presents to the celebrated temples of other nations. It is supposed the Gentile nations would, and it is affirmed that they sometimes did, send presents to the Temple at Jerusalem: *Many brought gifts unto the* LORD *to Jerusalem, and presents to Hezekiah king of Judah: so that he was magnified in the sight of all nations from thenceforth.* 2 Chron. xxxii. 23. If other nations made presents to the Temple at Jerusalem, it cannot but be thought, that the Jews, when disposed to fall in with the idolatries of their neighbours, would send gifts to their more celebrated temples, in honor of the deities worshipped there; and especially when they courted superstitious princes, zealously attached to the worship of their country gods.

Can we imagine that the messengers of king Ahaziah went empty handed, when they were sent to consult Baal-

* Gen. xliii. 11.

zebub, the god of Ekron, whether Ahaziah should recover or not? 2 Kings i. 2.

Oil is now very frequently presented to the objects of Eastern religious reverence, and as it is apparently derived from ancient usages, the sending oil by the Jews to Egypt, in the time of Hosea, might probably be for a like purpose.

The Algerines, according to Pitts,* "when they are in the Strait's mouth, they make a gathering of small wax candles, which they usually carry with them, and bind them in a bundle: and then, together with a pot of oil, throw them overboard, as a present to the marabbot or saint, which lies entombed there, on the Barbary shore, near the sea, and has so done for many score of years, as they are taught to believe; not in the least doubting but the present will come safe to the marabbot's hands. When this is done, they all together† hold up their hands, begging the marabbot's blessing, and a prosperous voyage. And if they at any time happen to be in a very great strait, or distress, as being chased, or in a storm, they will gather money, and do likewise. Besides which, they usually light up abundance of candles in remembrance of some dead marabbot or other, calling upon him with heavy sighs and groans. At such times they also collect money, and wrap it in a piece of linen cloth, and make it fast to the ancient staff of the ship, so dedicating it to some marabbot; and there it abides till the arrival of the ship, when they bestow it in candles, or oil, to give light, or in some ornament to beautify the marabbot's sepulchre."

I have, in a preceding volume, considered this passage of Hosea, but I then only considered that passage as expressive of the largeness of the quantity of oil produced in the Holy Land: but it now appears to me capable of being viewed in a stronger point of light, and to express something of idolatry: the two purposes of courting the Egyptian monarch, and honoring the idols of that country, might, very possibly, be united together.

* P. 17, 18. † *Stretch out their hands,* in the language of Scripture

There is a long account, in Maillet,* of the processions of the ancient Egyptians on the Nile, in the four months of June, July, August, and September, the time of the inundation of that river. If we may believe his accounts, deduced from old Arab authors, the ancient princes of Egypt, attended by their nobles, and infinite multitudes of their common subjects, passed up and down the Nile, in order to visit the temples of their idols, as well as for pleasure. These large and pompous boats were illuminated with vast multitudes of lamps, as were doubtless their temples, though Maillet says nothing, I think, in particular about them.

But it is natural to suppose this, since he tells us, that these solemn river processions are, in some measure, still continued, only their devotions transferred from the old idols of Egypt to later Mohammedan saints, and the ancient idolatrous Egyptian festivals succeeded by those of Sidy Ibrahim, Sidy Hamet Bedouin, and other Turkish saints, whose tombs are still annually visited, with the same concourse of people, and nearly the same ceremonies.† And we know, from the citations already produced under this article, that the consecrated oil is now employed in illuminating these sacred sepulchres.

The sending then oil to Egypt might be, not only to assist in making the idolatrous processions on the Nile more brilliant, but also with the direct unequivocal design of illuminating the idol temples of that country.

And if this be allowed, there will appear an emphasis in this complaint of Hosea,‡ which must be very much diminished, if we consider it only as an act of common national perfidiousness. But I do not recollect that commentators have understood the words in this more provoking sense.

* Lett. 2d. † Page 82.

‡ Their conduct will be just the reverse of that of the heathens who brought gifts to the temple of Jehovah, and presents to Hezekiah, according to that place of 2 Chron. just now cited.

OBSERVATION VIII.

OF THE ILLUMINATIONS MADE ON THE NILE.

I INDISTINCTLY mentioned the illuminations that are wont to be made on the Nile, in the time when it overflows Egypt, in the preceding article; but here I would propose it to the learned to consider, whether they are not referred to by the son of Sirach, when he says, that GOD *maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light, and as Geon in the time of vintage.**

He had before compared GOD's filling all things with his wisdom, to the Tygris as filled with water in the time of the new fruits; and had described his causing understanding to abound, as Jordan abounds with water in the time of harvest; and many have been ready to suppose that Geon is mentioned in the same view, as a third river that was wont to overflow, from the copiousness of the descent of water down its channel in the time of vintage. But it is to be observed, that from the swelling of some rivers he had been mentioning, the writer had passed on to another thought, comparing it to light. *He maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light, and as Geon in the time of vintage;* which would rather lead us to apprehend, that he compares it to the light of Geon, at that time of the year when grapes are gathered for the making of wine.

This thought is so natural, that it struck the celebrated Grotius, who accordingly, in his comment on this place, explains it of the clearness of this river at the time of vintage, and that on the account of its being so limpid then, he compares it to light. This is the time indeed when the Euphrates is most clear, and consequently it may be believed its various branches, the water having settled after its periodical inundation, and the rains not having fallen, in such quantities at least, as to make the

* Eccles. xxiv. 27.

water foul and muddy ;* but it must be a terrible sinking from the image used in the first part of the verse, where he compares knowledge to the light of the morning, when in the second part of the verse he goes on to compare it to the clearness of a river, not at all more remarkable than other rivers for that quality ; but if by Geon he meant the Nile, as many have supposed he did, considering he resided in Egypt, where this book was written, or at least received the finishing hand, and as well acquainted with the pompous illuminations there, whose light was so gloriously reflected by the water of that river, it is not at all to be wondered at, that he compares knowledge to the splendour of those Egyptian illuminations.

If the Nile was meant by him, the son of Sirach could not intend to compare knowledge to the clearness of its stream, in that time of the year, for the time of vintage fell out within the time of the inundation of the Nile, when its waters are mixed with large quantities of mud, but must be understood of the illuminations upon it, which were wont to be so brilliant at that season.

I am very sensible the Gihon of the 2d of Genesis cannot well be understood of the Nile, since it is described as a river of Paradise ; but is it necessary to suppose the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus referred to the Gihon of Paradise ? He was an Egyptian Jew, and he might design to be understood of the Egyptian Geon, by which name, or one very much like it, the Nile has been sometimes denoted. So Menochius affirms, that in his time the Abyssinians called the Nile, Guyon ;† and in the year 1322, Symon Simeonis, a devout Irish visitor of Egypt and the Holy Land, called it by a name not far distant in sound from Gihon ;‡ and takes notice that Josephus supposed the Gihon of Paradise was the Nile.

On consulting the great Jewish historian, I found that he did suppose that the Gihon of Paradise was the river

* Phil. Trans. abr. vol. 3, part 2, ch. 2, art. xl. 2, relating to a second voyage to Tadmor, under October 11.

† Poli Syn. in Gen. ii. 13. ‡ Wyon, p. 34.

called the Nile by the Greeks.* Since this was the notion of Josephus, can it be unlikely that the son of Sirach meant the Nile by the name Γηων, or *Geon*? This is precisely the way of writing the name Gihon by Josephus; and if it be admitted that about his age the Nile was supposed to have been the Gihon of ancient times, the understanding the light of Geon of the illuminations upon the Nile, and the light reflected from its waters, can be no unnatural interpretation.

These illuminations are made at the time that the Khalis is opened, which is along a canal that runs through Cairo, the capital city of Egypt, and which terminates in a large lake, several miles from Cairo toward the east. Upon the opening of this canal, which is at the time that the water of the Nile is risen to such a height as to secure future plenty, great rejoicings are made, and that by night as well as by day. "The same day, in the evening," says Thevenot, "we took a cayque,† and went to Old Caire, and as soon as we came near it, we began to see, on all hands, ashore and upon the water, a vast number of large figures made of lamps placed in such and such order, as of crosses, mosques, stars, crosses of Malta, trees, and an infinite number of the like, from one end of Old Caire to the other. There were two statues of fire, representing a man and a woman, which, at the further distance they were seen, the more lovely they appeared: these figures were two square machines of wood, two pikes length high, each in a boat. . . . . These machines are filled with lamps from top to bottom, which are lighted as soon as it is night. In each of these figures there are above two thousand lamps, which are so placed, that on all sides you see a man and a woman of fire. Besides that, all the acabas, or barks, of the pasha, and beys, are also full of lamps, and their music of trumpets, flutes, and drums, which keep almost a continual noise, mingled with that of squibs, crackers, fire lances, great and small shot; so that the vast number of lamps, with the cracking

* Antiq. Jud. lib. 1, cap. 1, sect. 3. † A boat.

of the gunpowder, and noise of music, make a kind of agreeable confusion, that, without doubt, cheers up the most dejected and melancholic. This lasts till midnight, and then all retire; the lamps burning all night, unless they be put out by the wind and squibs. This solemnity continues for three nights. The opening of the Khalis hath, in all times, been very famous, even among the ancient Egyptians,* as being that which nourishes the country."†

These illuminations, which Thevenot saw, were very magnificent; but Maillet supposes these modern Egyptian illuminations fall far short of those of antiquity. If so, no wonder an Egyptian Jew, of the time of the Ptolemies, should be so struck with the light of Geon, or the Nile, in the time of the vintage, or when the grapes became ripe, which, according to Dr. Shaw, is in those countries by August,‡ in which month the Khalis is generally opened.‖

Maillet tells us, that illuminations are very common in Egypt. "That there is no rejoicing, no festival of any consideration at all, unaccompanied with illuminations. That for this purpose they make use of earthen lamps, which they put into very deep vessels of glass, in such a manner as that the glass is two thirds, or at least one half of its height higher than the lamp, in order to preserve the light, and prevent its extinction by the wind. That he believed the Egyptians had carried this art to the highest perfection, there being nothing which they could not represent with lamps; palaces, towers, even battles. That nothing assuredly produced a more charming effect. That the illuminations of all the mosques of Cairo, every night during the Ramadan month, and those preceding the principal Mohammedan festivals, viewed from the flat roofs of the houses of that city, made one of the most beautiful spectacles in the world, being in no respect in-

* Not, it may be, rigidly speaking, the opening that particular canal, but the time the Nile is so much swelled as to insure plenty in the following spring. † Part 1, p. 234. ‡ Page 146. ‖ Shaw, p. 383.

ferior to the illuminations of Constantinople, which some travellers have so much extolled, and which are seen at such great distances."*

But these were land illuminations; those on the water must be much more brilliant, on account of the waters reflecting the splendour and greatly augmenting the light.

Maillet indeed supposes, that in their water processions, which he describes with great pompousness, and which continued through the months of June, July, August, and September,† these illuminations were made use of. "All those boats being decorated with lamps, united with the sound of an infinite number of musical instruments, on all sides afforded a magnificent spectacle. The name of the owner of each boat was in the night season written there with letters of fire, by means of these lamps; as they were known in the day time by the shape and the colours of each man's banner." He adds, that, according to the Arabian writers, "the (floating) palaces about the king's were all illuminated, for four or five leagues round, more than twenty thousand boats being assembled, particularly in the time that the Nile was upon the increase."‡

But as Thevenot speaks only of the three nights after the opening of the Khalis, there is reason to believe, that in the time in which the son of Sirach lived, that was then the principal time for water illuminations, and that therefore that ancient Jewish writer speaks of the light of Geon at that time only. The processions which are represented on the swathing of some of the mummies, which Maillet mentions, page 75, may as well be understood of those of the time when the Nile had attained its desired height, as of the superstitious processions of other months.

* Let. 2, p. 80. † Page 76. ‡ Page 80, 81.

OBSERVATION IX.

OF THE EXCELLENCE OF THE WATERS OF THE NILE.

THERE are few wells in Egypt, but their waters are not drank, being unpleasant and unwholesome: the water of the Nile is what they universally make use of in this country, which is looked upon to be extraordinarily wholesome, and at the same time, extremely delicious.

The author of the notes on le Bruyn mentions this* last circumstance, and takes notice of the Egyptians being wont to excite thirst artificially, that they might drink the more of it; nor is there any reason to doubt of the fact, since Maillet has affirmed the same thing; the only point in which they differ being, that Maillet says, they do this by salt, the other by spices. The account of Maillet, as it is given us by the publisher of his remarks, is indeed so very curious, that I shall set it down here at length.

"The water of Egypt," says the Abbè Mascrier,† "is so delicious, that one would not wish the heat should be less, nor to be delivered from the sensation of thirst. The Turks find it so exquisitely charming, that they excite themselves to drink of it by eating salt. It is a common saying among them, that if Mohammed had drank of it, he would have begged of GOD not to have died, that he might always have done it. They add, that whoever has once drank of it, he ought to drink of it a second time. This is what the people of the country told me, when they saw me return from ten years' absence. When the Egyptians undertake the pilgrimage of Mecca, or go out of their country on any other account, they speak of nothing but the pleasure they shall find at their return in drinking the Nile water. There is nothing to be compared to this satisfaction; it surpasses in their esteem that

* Tom. 2, p. 103. † Let. 1, p. 15, 16.

of seeing their relations again, and their families. Agreeably to this, all those that have tasted of this water allow that they never met with the like in any other place. In truth, when one drinks of it the first time, it seems to be some water prepared by art. It has something in it inexpressibly agreeable and pleasing to the taste; and we ought to give it perhaps the same rank among waters, which champaigne has among wines. I must confess however it has, to my taste, too much sweetness. But its most valuable quality is, that it is infinitely salutary. Drink it in what quantities you will, it never in the least incommodes you. This is so true, that it is no uncommon thing to see some persons drink three buckets of it in a day, without finding the least inconvenience. . . When I give such encomiums to the water of Egypt, it is right to observe, that I speak only of that of the Nile, which indeed is the only water there which is drinkable. Well water is detestable and unwholesome; fountains are so rare, that they are a kind of prodigy in that country; and as for the rain water, it would be in vain to attempt preserving that, since scarce any falls in Egypt."

The embellishments of a Frenchman may be seen here, but the fact however in general is indubitable.

A person that never before heard of this delicacy of the water of the Nile, and of the large quantities that on that account, are drank of it, will, I am very sure, find an energy in those words of Moses to Pharaoh, Exod. vii. 18, *The Egyptians shall loath to drink of the water of the river*, which he never observed before. They will loath to drink of that water which they used to prefer to all the waters of the universe, loath to drink of that which they had been wont eagerly to long for; and will rather choose to drink of well water, which is in their country so detestable. And as none of our commentators, that I know of, have observed this energy, my reader, I hope, will not be displeased that I have remarked it here.

OBSERVATION X.

METHOD OF PURIFYING THE WATERS OF THE NILE, WHEN MUDDY, THROUGH THE INUNDATION OF THAT RIVER.

From this circumstance it is natural to pass on to another, mentioned in the history of this plague, in which probably there is more meaning than is commonly understood. *And the* Lord *spake unto Moses, say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the waters of Egypt, upon their streams, upon their rivers, and upon their ponds, and upon all their pools of water, that they may become blood; and that there may be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both in the vessels of wood, and in vessels of stone,* Exod. vii. 19. To what purpose this minuteness, this corrupting the water that had been taken up into vessels before the stretching out of the fatal rod? And if vessels are mentioned at all, why are those of wood and stone distinguished from each other?

But perhaps these words do not signify, that the water that had been taken up into their vessels, was changed into blood. The water of the Nile is known to be very thick and muddy, and they purify it either by a paste made of almonds, or by filtrating it through certain pots of white earth, which is the preferable way, and therefore the possession of one of these pots is thought a great happiness.* Now may not the meaning of this passage be, that the water of the Nile should not only look red and nauseous, like blood in the river, but in their vessels too, when taken up in small quantities; and that no method whatever of purifying it should take place, but whether drank out of vessels of wood, or out of vessels of stone, by means of which they were wont to purge the Nile water, it should be the same, and should appear like blood?

* Le Bruyn, tom. 2, p. 103. Thevenot, part 1, p. 245, and 260.

Some method must have been used in very early days to clarify the water of the Nile; the mere letting it stand to settle, hardly seems sufficient, especially if we consider the early elegance that obtained in Egypt. So simple an invention then as filtrating vessels may easily be supposed to be as ancient as the time of Moses; and to them therefore it seems natural to suppose the threatening refers.

OBSERVATION XI.

THE WATERS OF THIS RIVER UNWHOLESOME AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE INUNDATION.

It is common indeed for the Nile water to turn red, and to become disagreeable, in one part of the year; but this was of a different nature.

Dr. Pococke* mentions this fermentation of the Nile, and says, its water turns red, and sometimes green, as soon as the river begins to rise, which, according to him, it generally does about the eighteenth or nineteenth of June; and that this discolouring of the water continues twenty, thirty, or forty days; during which time it is very unwholesome and purging; so that in Cairo they drink at that time, of water preserved in cisterns, under the houses and mosques. Maillet mentions the same fact, but with this difference, that he supposes the river begins to rise, in common, the latter end of April and beginning of May; and that he supposes there is a difference in different years as to this corruption, saying, that there are some years in which, from the very first increase of the Nile, the water of this river corrupts. He adds, that then it appears greenish, sometimes reddish, and if kept a little while in a vessel, that it breeds worms.†

* Descr. of the East, vol. 1, p. 199. † Lett. 2, p. 57.

Perhaps some may be disposed from hence to imagine, that the Nile's being turned into blood was only a natural occurrence, and such a corruption of the water as these authors speak of; but besides this corruption's taking place before the usual time, immediately upon the smiting the river by Moses and Aaron, and its being followed by others wonders; the universality of the corruption, and the effects it produced, show the finger of GOD was there.

The universality of the corruption, in the first place. To set forth which, a variety of words is made use of in Exod. vii. 19, nor is that variety made use of without a meaning: let us consider it with a little distinctness. The Nile was the only river in Egypt, but it was divided into branches, and entered by different mouths into the sea; there were numberless canals made by art, for the better watering their lands; several vast lakes are formed by the inundations of the Nile, inhabited by fish and wild fowl; and many reservoirs are contrived for the retaining the water, either by stopping up the mouths of the smaller canals, which are derived from the greater, and preventing the return of the water, or by digging pits or cisterns for the preserving water, where there are no canals, and this for the watering their gardens and different plantations, or for the having sweet water when the Nile corrupts; all which appear in the accounts that are given us of this country by travellers,* and are, I think, distinctly pointed out in Exod. vii. 19. The words however in our version are not so well chosen as could be wished, nor so happily selected as those of the translation of Pagninus and Arias Montanus. "Super flumina, rivos, paludes, omnem congregationem aquarum," that is, "Upon their rivers, or branches of their river, their canal, their lakes, or large standing water, and all reservoirs of water of a smaller kind." Now if it had been a natural event, the lakes and the reservoirs that had then no communi-

* See Dr. Pococke in the last cited place, and Maillet, Lett. 2, p. 60, 61, Lett. 3, p. 97, 98, and Lett. 9, p. 5.

cation with the river, on the account of the lowness of the water at that time of the year, could not have been infected; which yet they were, according to the Mosaic history, and they were forced to dig wells, instead of having recourse to their wonted reservoirs.

The effects this corruption produced prove the same thing, in the second place. Had it been a sort of corruption that happened not unfrequently, would the Egyptians have been surprised at it? or would their magicians have attempted to imitate it? Would they not rather have shown that it was a natural event, and what often fell out? Is the corruption such as kills the fish in the Nile? That in the time of Moses did; but nothing of a like sort appears in modern travels.

What a number of circumstances concur to determine it a miracle!

OBSERVATION XII.

FURTHER ILLUSTRATION OF EXOD. vii. 19.

THE representation of the waters of Egypt, which the translation of Exod. vii. 19, by Pagninus gives us, is certainly just, for it is conformable to all the accounts of travellers. Bishop Patrick however has unhappily departed from it in his commentary.

He gives us the distinction with great precision and exactness, as to three of the words: but as to the fourth, he most unaccountably supposes it means places digged for the holding rainwater when it fell, as it sometimes did; and wells perhaps dug near the river.* It is certain that

* *And the* LORD *spake unto Moses, saying, Take thy rod and stretch out thy hand upon the waters of Egypt, upon their streams* על נהרתם *al naherotam*, probably the seven branches into which the Nile was divided before it fell into the sea. *Upon their rivers*; על יאריהם *al yoreehem*, the several *cuts* made by art out of every stream to draw the water into their grounds. *And upon their ponds* ועל אגמיהם *ve al agmeehem*. These

rain does sometimes fall in Egypt: Maillet, who lived sixteen years in that country, admits it, as well as other authors; but he expressly affirms that it fell in too small quantities to be kept for drinking.* Nor have we any reason to imagine *wells* are meant, as the Bishop supposes; for though they have a few wells now, and but a very few, for their water is detestable and unwholesome, as Maillet affirms in the same paragraph, and consequently might have some few anciently, yet it seems that only their common drinking water was designed to be affected after this manner, since, had their wells been equally corrupted they would hardly have thought of digging others. To which ought to be added, that the original word, אגמים *agmeem*, signifies places in which rushes are wont to grow, as they do in shallow lakes, but not about wells or cisterns, since a kindred word means a rush.

Nor is this the only passage in which there is a particular representation of the waters of Egypt. There is another to which the distinction I have mentioned may be applied, and by such an application we may be delivered from those embarrassments which seem to have perplexed interpreters. *The river shall be wasted and dried up. And they shall turn the rivers far away, and the brooks of defence shall be emptied and dried up, the reeds and the flags shall wither. The paper reeds by the brooks, by the mouth of the brooks, and every thing sown by the brooks shall wither*, &c. Is. xix. 5, 6, 7. This differs a little from the preceding representation, but in correspondence with it is thus, I presume, to be explained.

were digged to hold rain water when it fell, as it did sometimes: and near the river also, they digged wells it is likely, which may be here intended. PATRICK. This last interpretation is that to which Mr. Harmer objects. EDIT.

* Je parle uniquement de l'eau du Nil, puisque c'est la seule en effet qui soit potable. L'eau du puits y est detestable & très malsaine. & a l'égard de l'eau de pluie, il seroit impossible d'y en conserver, puisqu'il n'y pleut presque jamais. Let. 1, p. 16.

The *river*, the Nile that is, shall be wasted and dried up. The *rivers*, the branches of it by which its waters pass into the sea, the *streams*, as the word is translated in that passage of Exodus, shall be of no use. The *brooks* of *defence*, which word in Exodus is translated rivers, but seems to signify canals, the canals which have been drawn by Egyptian princes from the river, and those lakes in which *reeds* and *flags* grow, both which they have formed for the defence of places, shall be emptied and dried up. The *cultivated places* by these canals, yea by the mouth of them, and all those things that are sown, and depend upon them, *shall wither*.

Dr. Shaw has taken some notice* of that passage in Exodus which I have been illustrating, but not with all the distinctness that was necessary; and as to this of Isaiah, he is, I think, quite silent, though it may be equally well illustrated.

The *additional* circumstances are, the mention of the *Nile* distinctly from its branches, the *digging these canals and lakes* for defence, and the advantage of being near the *mouth* of one of these artificial rivers. The ancients tell us, that there were large lakes to the north and west of Memphis, which made the *strength* of the place surprising;† and Dr. Pococke saw some near Metrahenny, which he supposes were these very lakes. Nothing then could be more natural than those words of Ezekiel,‡ *I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is my own, and I have made it for myself*, if the Prophet was referring to him as residing in Memphis. Whether he was, or not, is not my business here to inquire: other cities might be guarded in the same manner.||

Egypt is a very level country, but not absolutely so, which indeed is unimaginable: for though, according to

* Page 402, note. † See the notes on Norden. ‡ Ch. xxix. 3.

|| Thanis was for one in De Vitriaco's time. Vide Gesta Dei, &c. p. 1147.

Dr. Shaw, the Egyptians make great rejoicings when the Nile rises sixteen cubits, yet nineteen or twenty are required to prepare the whole land for cultivation ;* and doubtless some of it would, or might be at least, overflowed with less than sixteen cubits, though not enough to answer the demands of the country. It appears also, from another fact mentioned by the Doctor, that the land originally lay with a considerable descent to the river: for he says, the soil near the banks is sometimes more than thirty feet, whilst at the utmost extremity of the inundation it is not a quarter part, of so many inches ;† consequently if this adventitious soil, brought by the Nile, were removed, the land would lay with a descent to the river that would be considerable. In such a situation of things, the things that were sown near the mouths of the canals, must have been in the lowest places, and were sufficiently watered, when the higher grounds produced nothing, for want of moisture: to say then, the things that were sown or cultivated near the mouths of the canals should wither, is describing the utmost failure of water, by a periphrasis sufficiently easy.

OBSERVATION XIII.

OF THE PLAGUE OF HAIL.

I DO not apprehend, that it is at all necessary to suppose, that all the servants, and all the cattle of the Egyptians, that were abroad at the time the hail fell, which Moses threatened, and which was attended with thunder and lightning, died; it is sufficient to suppose they all felt the hail stones, and that several of them were killed.

This was enough to justify the words of Moses, that it should be *a grievous hail, such as had not fallen before in Egypt from its foundation.* For though it hails some-

* Page 384. † Page 386.

times in Egypt as well as rains, as Dr. Pococke found it hailed at Fionme, when he was there in February:* and thunders too, as Thevenot says it did one night in December, when he was at Cairo;† yet fatal effects are not wont to follow in that country, as appears from what Thevenot says of this thunder, which, he tells us, killed a man in the castle there, though it had never been heard before that thunder had killed any body at Cairo. For divers people then to have been killed by the lightning and the hail, besides cattle, was an event that Moses might well say *had never happened there before, from the time it began to be inhabited.*

I will only add, that Moses, by representing this as an extraordinary hail, supposed that it did sometimes hail, there, as it is found in fact to do, though not as in other countries:‡ the *not raining* in Egypt, it is well known, is to be understood in the same manner.

* Vol. 1, p. 59. † Part 1, p. 247.

‡ So Dr. Parry tells us, that when he was at Cairo, there was one shower of hail, as well as several of rain, which first they were told had not been observed before in any man's memory, p. 255. It appears by circumstances that it was early in the spring.

END OF VOLUME THIRD.